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[For additional information on the grammatical analysis of the Gullah language, see Category 19.]

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[For text illustrating various manifestations of Gullah phonological and grammatical constructions, see Categories 538 and 539.]

1: Federal W-5 (no date) 1986
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121 African continuities as he acknowledged, he deplored. Slavery he regarded as a school—mostly successful—for civilizing savages."

American sociologists expressed a more clear-cut catastrophist interpretation of the black cultural experience, following the position enunciated by the Chicago sociologist Robert E. Park in 1919. According to Park, "the Negro, when he landed in the United States, left behind him almost everything but his dark complexion and his tropical temperament. It is very difficult to find in the South today anything that can be traced directly back to Africa."[11] The foremost black sociologist of the first half of the twentieth century, E. Franklin Frazier, became a leading spokesman for the catastrophist position. "Probably never before in history," he wrote in his 1939 book *The Negro Family in the United States*, "has a people been so completely stripped of its social heritage as the Negroes who were brought to America." The positive result of losing their African heritage, however, was that they had "gradually taken over the more sophisticated American culture."[12] These sophisticated restatements of part of Phillips's position reveal a certain embarrassment over the African past and the shameful experience of slavery.

12 Sociological studies of the South Carolina sea islands followed the catastrophist interpretation of Park and Frazier. In his 1930 book *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island*, Guy B. Johnson traced the genealogy of black speech, songs, and folk beliefs mainly to white sources. "The Negro's almost complete loss of African language heritages is startling at first glance," he wrote, "but slavery as practised in the United States made any other outcome impossible." On the sea islands, "the Negro took over the English of the whites with whom he was associated, and he did it remarkably well." Gullah grammar, he said, "is merely simplified English grammar." As for songs, "the general pattern and many of the particulars of the music developed in slavery were borrowed

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Fraser is sensitive to charges that hiring practices are discriminatory. "I get continued crap that we should confine our employment exclusively to people who were born on Hilton Head Island, without regard to their ability or what they do," he complains. "When we had a vice president for personnel, black, college educated, graduate degree in personnel management, we got nothing but hell because he had not been born on Hilton Head Island. This is the sort of crap we get over and over again." Fraser's preference for well-qualified employees to fill upper-echelon positions is understandable. But the fact remains that of all the jobs created by development on the Sea Islands, virtually the only ones which are available to the Sea Islanders themselves are jobs as servants.

Even more striking than the economic consequences of development on the indigenous population of the Sea Islands has been its cultural impact. Modernization has caused severe social dislocations. "Developers just come in and roll over whoever is there," charges Emory Campbell, "move them out or roll over them and change their culture, change their way of life, destroy the environment, and therefore the culture has to be changed." Perhaps the unintentional vanguard of white cultural imperialism has been the school. Campbell calls for a school system "that is in tune with the culture of the black child of this island. That child's heritage," he notes, "is different from a child who came here from Chicago, New York, or Ohio. And that's where a lot of our white kids are coming from; so you put them in a classroom and say you're integrated and you've got a classroom situation at Hilton Head Elementary School that's oriented to those kids who are moving in." Teachers with little understanding of the islands' rich historical and cultural heritage criticize the island children's Gullah speech—as though the children were the outsiders who speak funny! They do not know that Gullah is a creole language with a very regular syntax and phonology of its own. They do not know that other forms of the islanders' cultural expression are parts of an ancient and beautiful tradition with a rich history behind it. It is little wonder that many Sea Island children—in the face of daily assaults on the way they talk and the way they express themselves—see the school as the enemy, taking away more than it gives. With white dominance of the economic and educational systems some Sea Islanders have become ashamed of their culture. Thus the schools, intended to be the agents of cultural enrichment, have become agents of cultural destruction.

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were often spread to emphasize a point, or his leg would swing back and forth like a pendulum to suggest the passage of time. When not emphasizing a point, he often rotated his hand at the wrist as if keeping silent time with the rhythm of the tale. Facial expressions and voice modulations were an important part of his personal delivery. For example, many informants told the tale "Ber Rabbit and the Tar Baby." However, when Ber Rabbit begged the man not to throw him in the briar patch, Mr. Ted gave meaning to the word *beg*. His voice became whiny and whimpering, and his face took on the appearance of one in great distress. He squinched his eyes, wrinkled his nose, and in a high-pitched voice said, "Ple-e-e-ase don't throw me in there." On the page these words are almost lifeless, but when he uttered them in conjunction with such movements as making faces, raising his arms to his chest, crooking his hands and fingers, and trembling as if in mortal terror, the listeners went wild with laughter. What he said in his tales seemed almost irrevelant when compared to the many movements, expressions, and exaggerations that he used in actually performing a given tale.

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Most of Mr. Ted's tales ended with a moral; if one was not readily apparent, he made one up. He liked to do what he considered moralizing and philosophizing about life. The language of his tales was contemporary Gullah, with such features as the preverbal markers *de, ben, bina,* and *don;* lack of inflections like *-ed* and *-ing;* and little of the subject-verb concord that one expects in standard English. These features, which among others distinguished his speech as contemporary Gullah and not black English or standard English (see Chapter 4), were part of what made his tales so appealing to other Gullah speakers. If he had approximated a form of standard English, as he sometimes did (see "Peter and the Rock," for instance—the switch is very obvious) he would not have been telling the tale in the language and style of the Gullah-speaking community.

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Mr. James Oree is quite the opposite of Mr. Ted. He is approximately thirty-six years old. He seldom attends church; he drinks in excess; and he loves to be among the sweet ladies of the community who "like for have good time!" He enjoys his life immensely. He claims to have worked hard when he was able to work. Recently, however, he has been in failing health, and work has not "agreed" with him. Those who know him like him well. He is generally a very talk-

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159 538 ingly in order to permit the listeners to reflect on the content of his narrative; whatever his reason, it was a highly effective technique. During his long pauses, older members often offered a word of encouragement, such as "Tell em, Henry." Mr. Henry would reply, "Shore [sure]! I remember that good as yesterday!"

Like most good Sea Island narrators, Mr. Henry used a highly emotional oratorical method that tended to stimulate and excite his listeners. He frequently used repetition and parallel constructions, with mesmerizing effects. For example, he often spoke of the days of his youth, a time when he lived and worked on a plantation. The simple words "We ben living over there . . . on the white people place . . . the white people place" alone on the page can never capture the emotion of his phrasing or show his grave expression as he paused to reflect. The words had apparently brought to mind untold memories, so many that he felt compelled to repeat the phrase again softly and more deliberately, as if each word had history in itself.

In addition to his various uses of repetition, Mr. Henry would often actually shout out with passionate anger, joy, or excitement. To his exclamations, older members would respond with equal fervor. He would call out the name of a responding member and ask, for example:

> "Myma, you ain't know what I bina talk about, do you?"

The respondent (Myma in this case) would reply:

> "Yeah man! Shore I bina know!"
> "Huh?"
> "Yeah! Yeah!"
> "But this one here [pointing to a younger member] ain't de know. E [he] ain't even ben born yet."

Appropriately to his topics, Mr. Henry's language had formal overtones even in casual utterances. Thus he retained the elements characteristic of a creolized Gullah speech: one pronoun for both masculine and feminine subjects, a range of preverbal markers, few if any morphological inflections, the introductory or formulaic verb *say*, and other features of the creole tradition (see Chapter 4).

159 *Miss Deeley* would not reveal her age, nor would she consent to being recorded or permit me to use her last name, but she is one of the most prolific women storytellers that I encountered. She is fifty or

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782 IV. Appeals

A. Father, we down here this evening
Heavenly Father
Asking for your mercy

B. We want you to come in this building
One more time

C. We ask you to please strengthen us
Where we are weak
And build us where we are tearing down

D. We ask you to look at the leaders
From one to another, Jesus
Make them ushers of sound judgment
Then truly devoted to God

E. I want you to bless each and every usher
Jesus
Help them to please hold out and hold on

F. Look at Reverend Pinckney one more time

G. Look at the mistress of ceremonies
Jesus

H. Want you to look at Jerusalem one more time

I. [Look at] me too

V. Peroration

Somewhere, Lord, Job declare
The wicked must cease in trouble
And my soul have rest
'Tis thy servant's prayer, Master!

782 195 [193] [537] The social setting in which a prayer of this sort is delivered contributes to the development of bilingual skills for many Gullah speakers. This prayer, like most others, contains few features characteristic of contemporary Gullah speech, such as the use of the preverbal markers *de, ben, bina,* and *don* and the omission of inflectional markers. There is a good reason for the absence of these and other features in this text. A prayer of this type is composed in a tradition of rhetorical

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guage. For example, the pronominal system in contemporary Gullah still reveals such features as the singular and plural second-person pronouns *unu* and *hunu*, respectively. These features correspond to the pronoun *una*, the second-person plural marker in contemporary Igbo. Likewise, one pronoun still expresses the range of third-person pronoun possibilities in Gullah for many speakers. Although Igbo does employ two pronouns—/o/, the vowel sound in *doe*, and /ọ/, the sound of *aw* as in *law*—the two systems are similar in that the same pronoun may be used to refer to both male and female. While it is true that many West African languages do follow this undifferentiating practice, other linguistic features link the lexicon of Gullah and Igbo, including [də], the locative, and the form of the verb *to be*. (This subject is considered in greater detail in Chapter 4.)

In addition to linguistic features, there are similarities between the two cultures in hair-wrapping techniques, food preparation, child-rearing practices, and other social customs already discussed, enough similarities to suggest a concentration of Igbo ancestral background for residents of Wadmalaw and perhaps other islands as well. It is well known among the islanders that each island carries its unique pattern of language and culture, and these patterns may perhaps indicate carry-overs from elsewhere in West Africa.

As Cronise and Ward have observed, some African tales have parallels in cultures in which there is only the remotest possibility of mutual influence. The tale of the "Tar Baby," for example, is found in various versions in most folklore. Certain themes may indeed be universal, just as some linguistic features are universal. The similarities between the Igbo and Sea Island tales cannot be dismissed as coincidental, however, because the genetic link between the African and the African-American people provides the basis for cultural and literary continuity.[31]

The evidence of literary continuity is most apparent in the handling of traditional themes and characters. Both cultures delight in imbuing physically insignificant and seemingly helpless creatures with extraordinary mental acumen. Their superior intelligence and discretion make these small beings not only godlike in powers but models for much stronger creatures to emulate. The "helpless" animal may take the form of the spider of the Gold Coast, the turtle of the Slave Coast, the rabbit of the Sierra Leone region, or the *hlakanyana* of South Africa.

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538 171 In the animal tales from both continents, the central characters nearly always function as though they were human beings. That they are lower animals personifying humans is secondary to the intent and purpose of the tales. The animals' roles are seldom comic in the style of American cartoon characters like Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck, or Bugs Bunny. Tales of Nnabe and Ber Rabbit are designed to represent mature individuals reacting in adult situations of daily life. In tale after tale, the listeners are confronted with multifaceted personalities which they sometimes like, sometimes dislike. There are differences: Nnabe is far more vicious in his interactions, for example, than Ber Rabbit. In many tales he is consciously cruel and tyrannical. Ber Rabbit, on the other hand, is seldom depicted as self-seeking. He is known as a trickster, or one "smart too much," but he generally resorts to chicanery only to preserve his life.

While many favorite African and African-American tales involve animals acting like human beings, many tales are told of mermaids (*mama water* or *daddy water*), great hunters, chiefs, and the common person in struggles against the forces of nature. A frequent theme among the Igbo, Ibebio, and Yoruba involves crimes against the family: a member of one's family kills another member, and the ill deed is revealed by the murdered person's bones. Similar tales are also told on the Sea Islands. Here "The Three Pear[s], or the Singing Bones" is compared with "The Flower, or the Singing Bones." Tales of this type are customarily accompanied by lyrics, which the audience usually participates in singing. These tales involve the audience fully and are usually welcome diversions from the traditional trickster exploits.

The Gullah and Igbo tales that follow demonstrate the similarities in plot and character that have been mentioned. Most of the African informants had little or no familiarity with the English language. Each tale was told in a familiar setting in the speaker's native tongue and then translated into English with the aid of a bilingual consultant from the village. 538 128 The Gullah tales have been edited to eliminate stuttering, false starts, and constructions which are not confusing in speech but which, because they are distractions, would most likely make the text more difficult to understand, and ultimately would cause the similarities between the plots to seem more obscure. Features such as the formulaic or introductory verb *say* and the preverbal markers *de*, *ben*, *bina*, and *don* have been retained to aid in perpetuating the original flavor of the tales. [193] (See Appendix I for a transcription of one story into

A, [For Appendix I, see Category 226, pp. 151-155--Analyst]
[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 116]

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rest you mouth!: shut up!
long eye: envy

Most linguists agree that lexicon is perhaps one of the most arbitrary features that languages borrow from one another, and it is in this area that they tend to borrow most extensively. As Talmy Givón has explained, when different linguistic groups come in contact, it is natural that the area of most acute linguistic conflict will be the lexicon; by borrowing words from each other, speakers resolve the communication conflict. But languages seldom borrow grammar.[13] Thus, in areas where Gullah is spoken, it is well to understand that while the lexicon is primarily English, much of the underlying grammar is rooted in West African languages.

In detailed analysis of Gullah I have used Walt Wolfram's "matrix of cruciality," selecting for discussion those features still persistent in Gullah speech.[14] Every effort has been made to present very technical material as nontechnically as possible, in order to assist readers in understanding peculiarities of Gullah speech, not only to help them appreciate the language but to suggest something of the rhythm and flow of the narratives and tales, a quality which, as I have noted, cannot be captured on paper.

Features of Grammar

Many characteristic features of grammar and syntax set Gullah apart from other varieties of African-American speech.[15] Unlike standard English, which relies heavily on subordination to convey relationships between ideas, contemporary Gullah relies on coordination, or the combination of sentences that are short, abrupt, and loosely strung together. Gullah thus dispenses with many of the prepositions, conjunctions, adjectives, adverbs, and participles that tie together complex standard English sentences. In addition, the relationships between sentences are not necessarily specified through grammatical operations but may be left to be inferred from the usage or context.

The verb and pronoun systems are particularly distinctive in Gullah. Some distinguishing features of the verb structure include the uninflected verb, verb serialization, the introductory verb *say* [se], the complementizer *for* [fə], and verb reduplication.

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The Uninflected Verb

•193 Gullah speakers have maintained an aspectual system with few formal markings to indicate tense. Accordingly, a single verb stem may be used to refer to a past, present, or future action. In fact, little importance is attached to the actual time when an action took place; rather, it is the mood and aspect of the action which impressed the speaker at the moment that are important. This is a pattern also common in the West African languages that contributed to Gullah—Ewe, Mandinka, Igbo, Yoruba, and others.[16]

Instead of using a system of postverbal marking, with *-ed*, *-s*, and *-ing*, for example, Gullah speakers use preverbal marking: the particles *de* [də], *ben* [bɛn], *bina* [bɛnə] and *don* [dɔŋ], the principal tense and aspect indicators, appear before the main verb to signal when an event occurred. Observe their appearances in the following constructions, which were obtained by asking Gullah speakers to produce semantic equivalents of English sentences that referred to shelling peas:

English:	Gullah:
I shell them.	I shell em (tenseless).
She shells them.	She (e, he) de shell em.
I am shelling them.	I de shell em.
I shelled them.	I ben shell em.
I have been shelling them.	I bina shell em.
I have shelled them.	I don shell em.
I shelled them some time ago.	I ben don shell em.

The preverb *de*, in *I de shell em*, can often be heard and understood as *I shelled them*, as well as *I will shell them*. *De* appears most frequently in contemporary Gullah speech as a replacement for present-tense forms of English *be* verbs: *am*, *is*, *are*.

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•193 Verb Serialization

A construction common to most creole languages and still very much inherent in contemporary varieties of Gullah is verb serialization. This process involves systematically joining one, two, or even three verbs to express an idea where standard English would use one main verb and one or more additional clauses or phrases, as in the following sentences:

Gullah: I hear tell say he know some old-time story. .

English: I heard it said that he knows some old-time stories. Verbs are used in Gullah to perform functions discharged by other parts of speech in standard English. While all three (*hear, say,* and *tell*) are communicative verbs, *hear* is the only main verb; *tell* performs as a participle and *say* as a connective introducing an objective clause. In this practice Gullah follows the pattern of African serializing languages of the Kwa group, such as Yoruba, Igbo, Ibebio, and Ewe. It is not uncommon in these languages to find strings of verbs, one after the other, all having the same tense or mood and all having a common subject.[17] Observe the following construction from Igbo:

Igbo: Obi kpọrọ nkụ mmadụ.
Literal translation: Obi drying wooding his person.
English. Obi is getting as hard as wood.

The Verb *Say* [se]

Whenever possible, the Sea Island speakers tend to interrupt a narrative with reports of direct address, as opposed to the indirect reporting of information often found in standard English discourse. The word *say* is most commonly used in Gullah to introduce a direct quotation and is repeated before each clause, group of words, or single utterance, in order to assure that the listeners will recognize what follows as the exact words of another speaker. The use of *say* may be observed in Gullah as follows:

Gullah: He tell em, say, "E ain't no deer round here."
Say, "Where you de hunt?"

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•193 English: He told him, "There aren't any deer around here."
He asked, "Where are you hunting?"

It is noteworthy that the word *say* has parallels in West African languages in its use as an introductory verb. In Twi, for example, *say* has not only the same function but a similar phonetic shape: [sɛ].[18]

The Complementizer *For* [fə]

The complementizer *for* [fə] is used in Gullah to signal the infinitive. It corresponds to the English word *for* in form, but it has more variable functions. It is amenable to English translation by the modals *must* or *should* and is most commonly used to introduce clauses of purpose or intent. It appears in contexts like the following:

Gullah: He must be born with something for see em.
For see, she could see em plain.
English: *She* must have been born with something to enable her to see them. You (must) understand, she could see them plainly. (For the pronoun switch see "The Pronominal System" below.)

It is true that some varieties of English have used *for* in similar contexts. *For* used before infinitives or even in conjunction with *to*, as in *for to*, was prevalent in English especially between 1200 and 1500, and it is apparently recorded in rural areas of England today. While *for to* has been recorded in Gullah speech, the simultaneous occurrence seem to be the exception rather than the rule, even in early descriptions of Gullah.[19] The assumption that Gullah has retained archaic features attributable to diverse areas of the British Isles is surprising, given that the Scottish, Irish, and East Anglian immigrants to America did not transmit these features to their own descendants.[20] The assumption that *for* is primarily of English origin loses more validity in light of the evidence that varieties of pidgin and creole language in West Africa today utilize the complementizer *for* in constructions similar to those in which it is used in Gullah, and there is no possibility of obsolete English influence there. Variants of *for* are common in West African languages; for example, Twi and Ewe use *fe* and Yoruba *fa*, all with syntactical functions similar to those of English *for*. This controversy (as

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193 well as some others involving Gullah and other creole languages) has theoretical import for the study of etiology in pidgin and creole languages. The form may be English or may be African, but most probably it resulted from both, since the occurrence of a similar word with similar functions is characteristic of both parent language groups.

193 Verb Reduplication

195 Reduplication is very common in Gullah. It is used to intensify; to indicate degree, magnitude, quality, or duration; and to express great excitement. Variation in repetition is often the key to the rhythm of Sea Island speech. Words or phrases are not repeated monotonously. Rather, each word or phrase starts with a low tone, rises to a mid tone with the first repetition, and reaches a very high pitch with the second repetition. The addition of repetitions usually modifies the meaning, as in the following:

Gullah:	English:
small small	very small
small small small	extremely small
clean clean	very clean
wrap up wrap up	wrap up very tightly
hungry hungry	very hungry

Some words may be preceded or followed by *too much*, to emphasize the meaning or alter it slightly: *small too much*, for example, means "very small" or "too small." Depending on intonation, *too much* can have a positive or negative connotation; for instance, *clean too much* signifies either "very clean" or "obsessed with cleanliness."

Reduplication forms are similarly widespread and are used to express a variety of meanings in African languages belonging to the Kwa group. Creole languages in general tend to follow the structure of the substrate language (in this case African), and it seems logical to conclude that the persistence of reduplication in Gullah is indeed an African carry-over.

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The Pronominal System

In the Gullah pronominal system one can still observe clear demarcations between European and West African language practices. Whereas English employs separate pronouns to specify masculine, feminine, and neuter genders, some speakers of contemporary Gullah adhere to a system in which gender is unspecified and the same pronoun, *e* [i], may be used to refer to males and females in the nominative and genitive cases. "E blink e eye," for example, can be translated either "He blinked his eye" or "She blinked her eye." The West African languages from which Gullah is in part derived also omit case and gender distinctions between pronouns. Note the system in Igbo, for example:

Nominative: *ya*$_3$, "he," "she," "it"
Genitive: *ya*$_3$ "his," "hers," "its"
Objective: *ya*$_3$ "him," "her," "it"

This schema is somewhat simplified because it does not indicate that the Igbo pronouns *o* and *ọ* are the inseparable forms and the forms used most frequently in indirect or reported speech, whereas *ya*$_3$ is used most often with tags, direct reports, or commands. Other variants, governed by vowel harmony or other linguistic structures, are employed as well. In Igbo and other tone languages, meaning is portrayed at least as much by the tone or manner in which something is said as by the word itself. The rhythm is inherent in the language, and in the words of an Igbo informant, "the language is actually sung." But the important fact for this discussion is that one pronoun, regardless of form, can be used whatever the case and gender. Specifications are indicated largely through context and prefixing.

The features outlined here are but a few of those distinguishing Gullah from English and known to have West African parallels. In addition to tense markers, for example, indicators of voice and number are often missing from the verb system in Gullah. Pronouns that would be expected in English may also be infrequent or absent in Gullah—for instance, the feminine pronoun *her*, the subject and object pronoun *it*, the first-person plural pronoun *us*, and the whole category of pos-

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•193 sessive pronouns. But even without further elaboration, it should be clear that an understanding of how the Sea Island language works will help in appreciating the tales and prayers that have been presented in this book, the authentic "old-time talk."

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Appendix 3

Phonetic Text: The Soul and the Spirit

539 128 19 The following text is included in this study primarily to show the language in context. It manifests many phonological, syntactical, and morphological constructions characteristic of creole languages.[1] The English version following the transcription obscures many of the creole patterns; consequently, a word-for-word translation accompanies each line of phonetic script to illustrate underlying creole constituents such as the complementizer [fə], the introductory verb [sie], the future marker [go], and many other constructions.

This passage reveals specific segmental phonological phenomena, for example, vowel epenthesis, consonant reduction, assimilation, and various phones corresponding to, or substituted for, such English phones as /β/ for /w/; /ɸ/ for /f/; /t/ for initial /ð/ and /ɵ/; and /ç/ and /ʃ/ for /s/. No effort has been made to eliminate false starts, deviant words, or stuttering. It is extremely difficult to hear certain sequences because of interference of birds and other outdoor noises on the tape. In such cases ellipsis dots indicate that a short passage, usually no more than a few words, has been deleted because of unintelligibility.

Terminal junctures and pauses have been indicated by a slash (/).

Creaky voice is indicated by a wavy underline (∿∿∿).

Hyphens join two or more words run together in the transcription.

193 539 128 English translations of the preverbal markers and the third-person pronominal forms often misrepresent the creole utterance. The following notations are accordingly used to symbolize these forms:

(3 ♂ n) third-person masculine nominative
(3 ♀ n) third-person feminine nominative

193 (3 Ø n) third-person neuter nominative
539 (3 ð o) third-person masculine objective
128 (3 ♀ o) third-person feminine objective
(3 Ø o) third-person neuter objective

(PrC)	present continuative	/də/
(PaC)	past	/bɪnə/
(T)	tense indicator	/bɪn/
(L)	locative	/də/

539 di soəl ɛn di speɪt

715 19

1. lɪsn mi gʊd nɔu / βɛn ju daɪ nɪs wɔ̈l / jusi / dɪ dɪ dɪ so·əl
Listen me good now: when you die in-this world, you see, the, the, the soul
2. əβə män go fiom dʊ di kɪŋdəm ə gɔd / bɔt juə speɪt
of-a man go home to the Kingdom of God, but your spirit
3. stɪls iə ɔn ɔʔt / ɛn ɪɸ ju βədɪ dɛβəl ɪn ɒl juə diez /
still's here on earth. And if you was-the devil in all your days,
4. juə speɪt /ätə jʊ died / joə speɪt kə du di siem tiŋ / juə speɪt
your spirit, after you dead, your spirit can do the same thing, your spirit.
5. juə soəl ɔ̈p dɛ / bɔt juə speɪt dɛ ɹɛʔ dɔŋ də iə βɪd
Your soul up there, but your spirit (L) right down (L) here with
6. di bɒɾi / ɛn däs də wɔn gɔ gɔ du də ɸɛk tu jʊ / jʊ si nɔ nɔ
the body. And that's the one gone, gone do the effect to you. You see now now
7. das das βɒɪ ɒɪ sie dɪs nɔ / ə lɒs ä pipʊ̈
that's that's why I say this now. A lot of people
8. dõn biliɸ / sie sie sieiz no guos / iz guos dɛə /bɔt nɔ sensz
don't believe. Say say say-is no ghost. Is ghost there. But now since
9. di ʔɑ̈ɾəmobil n tiŋ kɔm / n gɪt dɪ hɒɪβie nɔ / jusidiz diz tiŋ
the automobile and thing come and get the highway now, you-see-these, these thing
10. käɪnə tɛk tu wʊd / ä̈ɪ mɛmbə wɔnäɪt / βi βi bɪn ɔut
kind-of take to wood. I member one-night we, we (T) out

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10. The African derivations of these words are from Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

11. For a critical appraisal of Turner's methodology see P. E. H. Hair, "Sierra Leone Items in the Gullah Dialect of American English," *African Language Review* 4 (1965): 79–84.

12. DeCamp, Foreword to Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, pp. vii–viii.

13. For a detailed discussion of the processes involved in language contact see Talmy Givón, "Prolegomena to Any Creology" (Department of Linguistics, University of California, Los Angeles, Mimeo, 1973).

14. According to Wolfram (personal communication), the "matrix of cruciality" refers to linguistic features that are important to control in situations where one would be expected to use a form of standard English.

15. For a fuller syntactical analysis of Gullah than follows here, see Cunningham, "Syntactic Analysis." See Jones-Jackson, "The Status of Gullah," for a full representation of creole features in context.

16. See Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, p. 225.

17. See Dietrich Westerman and M. A. Bryan, *The Languages of West Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

18. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, p. 211.

19. See Nichols, "Linguistic Change in Gullah," for a detailed discussion and historical analysis of the complementizer *for*.

20. J. L. Dillard, *Black English* (New York: Random House, 1972).

Appendix 1

1. Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource."

Appendix 3

1. For a full discussion of the phonemes in Gullah, see Jones-Jackson, "The Status of Gullah," and Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

Appendix 4

1. All quotations in this appendix are from the film documentary *When Roots Die*, produced by me in conjunction with WHMM TV at Howard University and the South Carolina ETV network. I owe special thanks to Charles Sessoms, who helped to write and who directed the film. Likewise, I am indebted to Henry Cauthens, director of the South Carolina ETV network, for providing a crew (Patrice Abrams, Jimmy Dinkins, and Joe Bowie) to undertake the filming in South Carolina; and to Edward Hawthorne, dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Arnold Wallace, general manager of WHMM TV, Howard University, for providing the funds.

2. Robert Browne, founder of the National Emergency Land Fund and research scholar for the Black Economic Research Center (personal communication).

[p. 178 is blank]

CHAPTER 4

LINGUISTIC VARIABLES

4.0 Overview

121 193 The present chapter deals with three grammatical categories chosen to represent the changes now underway in Gullah. The syntactic functions of the three categories--complementizer, preposition, and pronoun--are clearly distinct from each other in this creole. The morphemes used for the creole and standard forms within each category are distinct phonetically from each other, for the most part. Older Gullah texts indicate that variation has been present within these categories for at least the past century; for the complementizer, change to standard forms is almost complete for most speakers in the area studied. For each category, analysis of the systematic linguistic changes in progress will be presented. Section 4.1 examines the pre-infinitival complementizer, section 4.2 a static locative preposition, and section 4.3 the third person singular pronouns. Section 4.4 summarizes these findings.

121 193 4.1 Complementizer

A number of recent papers have presented evidence that many languages have morphemes which function both as

121 case markers and as complementizers (Ferguson, 1970; Moravcsik, 1972a and 1972b; Gorbet, 1973; R. Clark, 1973; Hinds, 1973; Joseph, 1975). Washabaugh (1975) has presented evidence for the existence of similar morphemes in a number of creoles. In order to adequately explore these relationships between the complementizer and other syntactic categories in Gullah, section 4.1.1 will describe the uses of the morpheme fE for the grammatical categories of preposition, complementizer, and conditional marker. Section 4.1.2 will present an analysis of the functions of the pre-infinitival complementizer in Gullah, along with a discussion of the direction of change presently shown by this grammatical category. Section 4.1.3 will summarize historical developments in this category for English and will point to possible universal relationships which obtain between complementizers and case markers in creoles and in fully expanded languages.

4.1.1 Uses of fE in Gullah

The particle fE, phonetically [fə], is used as a complementizer in Gullah in pre-infinitival position. This morpheme is also used as a preposition and as a conditional marker on the verb. Examples of the three syntactic uses of the particle fE are given below:

PREPOSITION
Benefactive: (1) but yet I reckon they doing that fE the children wey go to school (SZ)

'but yet I reckon they're doing that for the children who go to school'

•193

(2) well I do need the kitchen fE me-self, 'cause them ain't gon do nothing fE me (S2)

'well I do need the kitchen for myself, because they aren't going to do anything for me'

Intensifier: (3) and I had to get work then fE true (S8)

'and I really had to get work then'

COMPLEMENTIZER
Purposive: (4) my brother he jump on the big boat fE let the people know what happen (S1)

'my brother jumped onto the big boat to let the people know what happened'

Adjunctive/ Relative: (5) I think I was too old fE be 'long with them (S1)

'I think I was too old to be along with them'

Object: (6) and so my cousin she tell me fE come on play with her (S17)

'and so my cousin told me to come on and play with her'

CONDITIONAL[1]
Future: (7) tomorrow I fE clean the house

'tomorrow I will clean the house' (interpretation by S18)

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[114]

[1]I am indebted to William A. Stewart for calling these uses of fE to my attention and for providing the sample sentence (7) for use in checking the two meanings of fE as a conditional marker. Some speakers interpreted this utterance as meaning a simple future as did S18, while others interpreted it as carrying a sense of obligation: 'tomorrow I have to clean the house.' Generally, speakers who had the greatest number of creole features in their speech gave the simple future interpretation. Conditional here is used in the sense of 'non-factual' or 'unreal.'

•193 Obligative: (8) I do some everything what ee fE do in the world while I was coming up (S2)

'I did some of everything that should be done in the world while I was growing up'

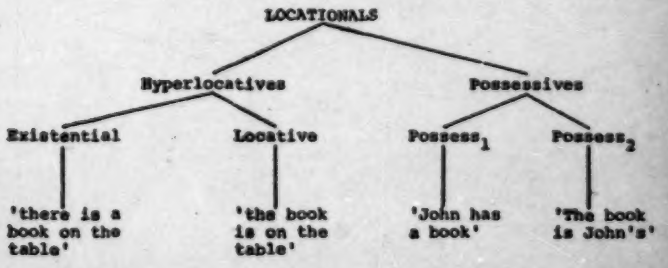
Fillmore (1968) and others have discussed the use of prepositions for case marking in English. As a preposition in Gullah, fE marks the benefactive case. In intention, it is associated with notions of possession. As a complementizer, the most frequent use of fE is for the introduction of clauses associated with notions of purpose and result as in (4). It is also used with adjunctive and relative clauses and with object clauses after certain verbs. The conditional use of fE has almost disappeared for present speakers of Gullah. The future use of (7) was obtained by direct elicitation, and all speakers did not agree with the gloss provided for the utterance. The use of fE as a conditional marker of obligation was retained by a few very old and by some children in spontaneous speech, but its occurrence in recorded texts was rare. In the same stretch of discourse in which (8) was recorded, speaker S2 indicated command of the standard English equivalent for the conditional with the following utterance:

(9) I done do everything in the world wey people should do (S2)

'I have done everything in the world that people should do'

[114] Washabaugh (1975) has recently argued that complementizers in creoles, and perhaps in other cases of language

193 elaboration, develop from locatives. To agree with his
114 analysis would mean identifying the preposition fɛ in Gullah
as a locative. I have argued elsewhere (Nichols, 1975) that
193 his claim is too strong. Benefactive prepositions in Gullah
and other creoles use morphemes identical to those for complementizers and cannot be considered true locatives. There does seem to be a close relationship between complementizers and markers for the benefactive and dative cases in many languages; some languages use homonymous morphemes to mark the conditional or subjunctive, as well as for complementizer and case. Gullah is one of these, having three uses for the morpheme fɛ. I have suggested that the abstract notion 'locational,' along lines discussed by E. Clark (1970), might be useful for examining relationships between these grammatical categories which often utilize the same morphems. Clark schematizes locational constructions as follows:



193 Under such a schema, locatives and possessives can be seen as related although separate categories. The locatives found by Washabaugh for other creoles, and the benefactives carrying notions of possession in Gullah and other creoles, can be understood as 'locationals' which share important characteristics associated with this abstract grammatical category. As Washabaugh has indicated, the study of emerging creoles may provide valuable information about the possible universal relationships which may obtain between certain grammatical categories. The uses of the fE morpheme in Gullah provide additional evidence for a close relationship between complementizers and case markers.

4.1.2 Variation and Change in the Complementizer in Gullah

The complementizer shows considerable variation between creole and standard forms for older speakers. Most younger speakers use standard forms to and for NP to categorically at present.[2] Those speakers who retain the creole fE as complementizer show variation between the following forms, as well as considerable use of standard forms. No speaker in the data analyzed uses creole and nonstandard forms categorically.

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(194) [2] The phonetic realization of the for in standard for NP to is still [fə]. Most speakers in the region under study reduce or eliminate r in post-vocalic position; vowels become [ə] in unstressed positions, as in other varieties of English.

19 introduction of purposive clauses, the introduction of adjunctive or relative clauses, and the introduction of verb objects. Of these three clausal types, the purposive clauses show heaviest use of creole variants. Over half the complementizers used with purposive clauses in the data analyzed here (see Table 1) are creole and nonstandard variants listed above. Paraci (forthcoming) distinguishes three subgroups for the purposive infinitive clause in standard English (purpose, rationale, and objective clauses), but the data for Gullah do not warrant making such distinctions. Those clauses which indicate either purpose or intention and either reason or result for action in the matrix clauses are grouped together here for Gullah under the broad classification of 'purposive.' Examples of complementizer variants • 193 which introduce purposive clauses in the data presented in Table 1 are as follows:

PURPOSIVE

fE: (10) she just gone fE take a rest (S2)

'she just went to take a rest'

(11) I don't get up fE dance-- (S1)

'if I don't get up to dance--'

g: (12) they don't take over fifteen, twenty minutes g cut up some wood (S16)

'they don't take over fifteen, twenty minutes to cut up some wood'

fE NP g: (13) they had to push down the house fE my daughter g come here from New York (S2)

•193

'they had to push down the house for my daughter to come here from New York'

to: (14) we used to use the ox to plow, farm rice, farm our rice in the rice field (S8)

for NP to: (15) my mother had quit school for her younger sister there to go to college (S6)

Only about a third of the complementizers which serve to introduce adjunctive/relative clauses in the data are creole or nonstandard variants, but every possible variant is represented in the data for this clausal type. The term adjunctive is used here in the traditional sense of an element which serves as a constituent of some higher element, but which is not syntactically one of the principal structural elements of the sentence. The term relative is appended to this category because some of the clauses in this particular group are ambiguously either purposive or relative. Some adjunctive/relative clauses are attributive, modifying or giving additional information about a higher element as in:

(16) just 'bout time for the rice to harvest come a freshet tide (S8)

'just about the time for the rice to be harvested came a freshet (flood) tide'

Some are comparative, as in:

(17) there's enough for all $\emptyset_A$ put a house on (S8)

And some are ambiguously relative or purposive:

(18) you get soil to sow this ground (S19)

Examples of complementizer variants which introduce adjunctive/relative clauses are as follows:

193 ADJUNCTIVE/RELATIVE

fE: (19) you set a rice basket fE fan in (S2)

'you set out a rice basket to fan (the rice) into'

g: (20) after he come he hire people you know g^ get this place clean up (S1)

'after he came he hired people, you know, to get this place cleaned up'

fE to:[3] (21) they just change land 'cause they was no way fE to get out there (S1)

'they just changed land because there was no way to get out there'

fE NP fE: (22) they had Em they say fE--a place fE stack rice (S2)

'they had it they said for a place to stack rice'

fE NP g: (23) the canal was too shallow fE the yacht g^ come in (S1)

'the canal was too shallow for the yacht to come in'

to: (24) and ee'll grow until time to harvest (S19)

'and it'll grow until time to harvest (it)'

for NP to: (25) my eyesight ain't no good so no use for me to try (S6)

'my eyesight isn't any good, so there's no use for me to try'

Complementizers which introduce clauses used as verb objects show the least use of creole and nonstandard variants,

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[126] [3]Only one example of this variant was obtained in all the recorded data, although older texts report its use and a few old songs retain this form.

•193 only about ten percent of the total number for this clausal type. None of the objects after inceptive verbs (e.g., start, begin, take up, go) is introduced by a creole or non-standard variant. Since no other category has only standard forms, the data suggest that complementizers which introduce objects after inceptive verbs have been the most susceptible to change. The following example shows the use of a standard variant as complementizer after an inceptive verb:

(26) they take up to go 'cross the river and work on them farm (S8)

'they began to go across the river and work on those farms'

A few objects after want-type or desiderative and psychological verbs are introduced by creole variants:

(27) I ain't know fE get Em off (S1)

'I don't know how to get it off'

Other verbs which take objects introduced by a complementizer are active or non-psychological verbs like tell, learn ('teach'), cause, get ('cause'):

(28) and so my cousin she tell me fE come on play with her (S17)

'and so my cousin told me to come on and play with her'

Variants used to introduce verb object clauses are as follows:

VERB OBJECT
fE: (29) I ain't know how fE hitch Em (S2)

'I don't know how to fasten it'

•193 g: (30) you got the rice what you want g sell (S19)
'you have the rice that you want to sell'

to: (31) wish I could know how to do this thing (S2)

Distribution of the complementizer variants used by 11 speakers for the three clausal types is given in Table 1 below. All speakers except two are older men and women between 65 and 90 years old. Speakers 15 and 16 are young men between age 15 and 25.

As the table indicates, more standard than creole and nonstandard variants are used for the complementizer by present speakers of Gullah. Few speakers under the age of 65 use any creole variants at all in this grammatical category. Of the three clausal types for which the complementizer is used, purposive clauses show heaviest use of creole and nonstandard variants and verb objects show least. Although the table does not give the figures, no instances at all were found for creole variants after inceptive-type verbs taking objects.

In his analysis of a similar complementizer fu found in Guyanese Creole, Bickerton (1971) uses three sub-categories, based on the verb type found in the matrix clause: inceptives (start), desideratives (want) and similar psychological verbs, and non-inceptive/non-desideratives. Using a Bailey Wave Model, based on work of C.-J. Bailey (summarized in Bailey, 1973), Bickerton finds that implicational

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 58]

•193

TABLE 1

COMPLEMENTIZER DISTRIBUTION FOR ELEVEN SPEAKERS

Speaker	PURPOSIVE							ADJUNCTIVE/RELATIVE							VERB OBJECT							TOTALS		
	+					-		+					-		+					-		+	-	%+
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
1	3							1	1	1		1			1					4		8	4	66
2	11			2				1			1		2		1	1				7		17	9	65
5	1	1				1		1					1							2		3	4	43
3	1					2														2		1	4	20
15								1							1					10		2	10	17
16		1				1			1				2							7		2	10	17
7						5						1	8		2					12		3	25	11
19						1							3			1				2		1	8	11
8	1					5						1	7	1						15		2	28	6
4													1							2		0	3	0
6						4	1						1							1		0	7	0
TOTALS	21					20		11					26		7					64		39	112	29%
%+	51%							30%							10%									

\+ = creole or nonstandard forms (1 - 5)
\- = standard forms (6 - 7)

1 = fE; 2 = g; 3 = fE to; 4 = fE NP fE; 5 = fE NP g; 6 = to; 7 = for NP to

193 relations exist between complementizers used for the three clausal types. If a speaker has creole forms for inceptives, that speaker will also have them for desideratives and others. If a speaker has only standard forms for inceptives but has some creole forms for desideratives, creole forms will also be used for the non-inceptive/non-desideratives. The data for Guyanese Creole indicates that similar processes are going on for its complementizer as are going on in Gullah, although Gullah may be at a later stage of development for this category. Older texts and recordings indicate that fE was once used with inceptive verbs in Gullah (Gonzales, 1924; recordings collected near Goose Creek, South Carolina, in the 1940's by students of Professor Virgil Anderson of Stanford University).

No figures for the proportional use of creole and standard variants are given in Bickerton's analysis of the Guyanese complementizer. Only the presence or absence of each type is indicated for each speaker in the three verbal groups. For the Gullah analysis here, actual numbers for occurrences of all variants in each speaker's recorded interview are given. The position taken here is that the significant differences between speakers is more a question of the relative presence of creole variants, rather than their categorical presence or absence--a position similar to that of Sankoff's (1974). In describing the final changes taking place at the end of a long process of change, more

193 detailed data may be essential in determining systematic patterns within speech communities. Such a detailed presentation of the data allows us to see that the purposive clauses in Gullah show heaviest use of creole variants, even though only one speaker uses creole variants categorically for these clauses. The adjunctive/relative clauses show more nonstandard variants (Ø, fE to, fE NP Ø) than other clausal types, indicating that this may be the category in greatest flux at present; overall it shows more standard than creole and nonstandard forms. The clauses having least use of creole forms are those used as verb objects, a finding similar to, but not identical with, Bickerton's finding for Guyanese.

Indications that creole forms are retained longest in Gullah for the purposive clauses leads us to ask questions about the semantic properties and syntactic functions of the complementizer in standard English.

000 4.1.3 The Complementizer in English

From Mustanoja (1960) and Visser (1966), the following stages in the development of the pre-infinitival complementizer in English can be sketched:

Old English:	Verb + infinitival endings to + Verb
Middle English:	to + Verb at, till, for till + Verb for to + Verb for + Verb NP + to + Verb

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989.
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
Georgetown

19
177 being transported to the Carolina colony, as Hancock (1975) suggests, the English which contributed to the development of the African-based creole was not that of the standard variety, either. Traugott's history of English syntax (1972) notes the importance of certain similarities between the English spoken by some Americans of West African ancestry today and that of seventeenth-century northern England and Scotland. So far as the complementizer is concerned, it is conceivable that the nonstandard for to or even for was the variant used in the kind of English heard by the early immigrants from Africa. Or that these were among the variants heard.

• 193 The heavy retention of fE for purposive clauses in Gullah, even as the change to standard forms for the complementizer in other environments is almost complete, argues for another explanation for the original choice of fE as complementizer than simply a dialectal one. Evidence from standard English and from other creoles points to the close relationship between particles used as prepositions or case markers to indicate notions of purpose and possession, and between homonymous particles having a complementizing function. In an influential discussion of factive and non-factive predicates, Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) noted the close association between certain types of infinitival con-
000 structions and non-factive predicates. In a subsequent examination of psychological predicates in English, Aijmer

000 (1972) indicated that for in its use as an English complementizer can mark an event as unreal or uncertain. That and for after emotive predicates are used to distinguish between underlying indicative and subjunctive moods; these complementizers in modern English serve to comment on the reality of the statement contained in the embedded clause. Aijmer (p. 98) contends that the infinitive which contains for is "a potential subjunctive, associated with the presupposition that the speaker does not know whether the indicated event is • 193 actual or not." (Here we recall the use of fɛ as a modal in Gullah, to express a future or obligatory event, both unreal 000 at the time of utterance.) That, in contrast, precedes an indicative clause and is used for the statement of specific events, associated with certainty. Bresnan (1972), in a study of complementizer types in English, also notes the distinction between for and that complements and maintains that the key to the meaning of the complementizer for lies in the meaning of the preposition for. On the meaning of for Bresnan states (p. 81), "I will tentatively refer to this basic meaning as 'intentional' or 'motivational,' terms which are meant to express at once the subjectivity and the directionality of for." It is relatively easy to see how the related notions of purpose and goal would be associated with a basic directional notion and to see this notion as common to the benefactive case-marking function of for as preposition and to its purposive clause-marking function as

complementizer. It is also easy to see that the subjectivity expressed by for is common to its irrealis mood-marking function as a "potential subjunctive," in Aijmer's terms.

I suggest an evolutionary sequence of [case marker > complementizer > conditional] for both standard English and Gullah, with Gullah showing an overt conditional modal and English only a 'potentially' subjunctive use of for. I suggest further that such a sequence may represent some universal process which can be expected in other developing creoles and which may be discovered historically for fully expanded languages. Washabaugh (1975) presents a well-argued case for such a relationship between case marking and complementizing functions for the particle fi in Providence Island Creole (Colombia). He proposes that the evolution of a complementizer from a locative preposition reflects a universal process, and cites evidence of a similar development in Sranan, the creole of Senegal, Mauritius Creole, American Indian Pidgin English, and Hawaiian Creole. As discussed earlier, the prepositional use of fɛ cannot be considered locative. With the qualification that the preposition or case marker be considered 'locational' in the sense discussed by E. Clark (1970), I find Washabaugh's analysis a useful one for investigation of other creoles. In Tok Pisin of New Guinea, presently undergoing the transition from pidgin to a creole, Sankoff (personal communication) has found evidence for a complementizer function developing for a particle

000 bilong, formerly used as a possessive. As complementizer, bilong introduces purpose and result clauses, and seems to be restricted to non-finite verbs. Another particle long is locative and is used as a more general complementizer in Tok Pisin. Data on relational terms in other creoles is scant as yet, but a search for similar relationships between case markers and complementizers may confirm the existence of important universal processes associated with these grammatical categories.

A recent historical analysis by Lightfoot (1976) of for as used before infinitives in earlier stages of English suggests that this particle remained a preposition throughout the history of standard English, never becoming a true complementizer. Whether or not this claim proves valid for standard English, it should be clear from the preceding discussion that fE in Gullah has been a true complementizer and retains this function longest for the introduction of clauses expressing purposive notions, notions which are associated also with the benefactive preposition fE and the almost extinct conditional marker fE.

193

4.2 Static-Locative Preposition to

128 193 The present section will deal with locative to, which can express both notions of 'movement toward' and 'position at' in Gullah. Its static-locative uses for the notion 'position at' will be examined for utterances such as:

Can we stay to the table?

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina
Georgetown

128 Variation between to and at for static location is now evi-
193 dent for most speakers, although texts of Turner (1949) and Cunningham (1970) provide only two examples of at used for this notion, one of which expresses a temporal rather than a spatial idea. Section 4.2.1 will discuss the functions of locative to in Gullah, 4.2.2 will summarize the history of to and at as locative prepositions in English and for some of the English-related creoles of the Caribbean, while the final section will present an analysis of the changes underway at present for this grammatical category in Gullah.

193 4.2.1 Functions of Locative to in Gullah

Locative relations are probably universally designated across languages, although by different grammatical
000 categories in specific languages. Catford (1968) has discussed the use of different grammatical markers in a variety of languages for indicating spatial and temporal relationships between objects. In Finnish, local case suffixes attached to the noun mark such relations. In Karbardian, a language of the Caucasus, prefixes are attached to the verb following the noun phrase. For French, prepositions before the noun phrase are used, as in English. Locative distinctions which can be made by such markers include non-dimensional notions of location, source, goal, and path; static and dynamic positional notions; and dimensional notions such as surface, interior and exterior. For standard English, a

000 set of at least nine locative prepositions is seen as basic to English locatives in one analysis (see Leech, 1970; Fillmore, 1971; H. Clark, 1973; Traugott, 1974). The set of English locative prepositions considered basic here is as follows: at, on, in, to, onto, into, from, off, and out of. (Fillmore and H. Clark include also prepositions related to the notion of 'path' in their analyses; Householder, 1971, includes with and by in his set of 'primary' prepositions of English.) For the analysis which follows, the nine prepositions cited above are taken to be the basic locative prepositions of standard English, used for the designation of locative relations which are probably universal in some sense. In comparing these locative prepositions of standard English with the prepositions which mark locative relations in a pidgin and a creole variety of English, we find a reduced inventory of lexical items. A West African Pidgin English described by Agheyisi (1971) has one general locator, fo, while the creole Gullah uses the six prepositions to, on, in, from, off, and out. In Figure 2 below, the basic prepositions used to express locative relations in this pidgin, the creole Gullah, and standard English are compared along the dimensional and the directional axes. For changes now underway in Gullah, the directional axis is the more important of the two. The directional relations expressed by these prepositions can be either positive, including notions of 'position at' or 'movement toward' a center, or negative

• 193

•193 orientation to some center. The markedness relationships which hold between positive and negative prepositions along the directional axis will be discussed below.

		Dimension								
		0-3	0-1	1-2	2-3	0-1	1-2	2-3		
Direction	positive		to	on	in	at	on	in		
						to	onto	into		
	negative	fo	from	off	out	from	off	out	of	
		pidgin WAPE	creole GULLAH			standard ENGLISH				

Figure 2. Locative Prepositions in West African Pidgin English, Gullah, and Standard English

The dimensional relations expressed by standard at, on, and in can be seen in sentences like:

Someone is at the door.

A fly is on the screen door.

Someone is standing in the doorway.

The directional relations expressed by these prepositions

•193 can be seen in the following sentences:

Someone is at the house.

Someone came to the house.

Someone went from the house.

As the examples suggest, the prepositions do not always carry the full locative notion by themselves; lexical items such as come and go share locational meanings, often in combination with certain prepositions. Fillmore (1971) and E. Clark (1974) have discussed these verbs in terms of the notion of 'deictic center,' a notion which will be extended to encompass the prepositions of Gullah in the discussion of markedness below. In the pidgin, the use of other lexical items in combination with the sole locative preposition fo is even more obvious. Examples are taken from R. Agheyisi (1971) and Pat Agheyisi (personal communication).

Di man de fo do. 'The man is at the door.'

Meri kom fo fam fo monitaim. 'Mary came to the farm in the morning.'

A komot fo fam dis monitaim. 'I came from the farm this morning.'

As locative copula in the pidgen, de expresses a neutral state with regard to motion, while kom expresses movement of a positive nature and the more highly marked komot indicates movement away from, or of a negative nature. In the creole, prepositions are often used along with other lexical items for the expression of locative notions, but the dependency on them is not as great. In Gullah, the locative prepositions typically express more than the single locative

193 preposition of West African Pidgin, as the following Gullah examples indicate:

POSITIVE
static: (31) Dr. Flagg is a family doctor out here to his house (S3)

'Dr. Flagg was a family doctor out here at his house.'

(32) can we stay to the table (S22)

'can we stay at the table?'

toward: (33) then I leave Conway Lumber Company and went to Wilmington (S7)

'then I left Conway Lumber Company and went to Wilmington'

(34) everybody carry it to the cold storage (S8)

'everybody carries it to the cold storage'

NEGATIVE
away from: (35) they had to push down the house fE me daughter come here from New York (S2)

'they had to push down the house for my daughter to come here from New York'

(36) used to live from one place to another (S7)

'[people] used to live from one place to another'

For sentence (32), stay carries part of the notion of static location, while the prepositions of (34) and (36) carry the major part of the meanings 'movement toward' and 'away from.'

19 The marked relationships of to and from in Gullah have been discussed elsewhere (Nichols, 1973). Following the work on markedness theory by Greenberg (1966) and Kuryłowicz (1972), the position is taken that these locatives

overlapped throughout the major historical stages of English, so did the uses of to and at as locative prepositions. The Oxford English Dictionary has citations for to expressing simple position from as early as 925 and extending as late as 1901; this use of to for indicating static location is labeled as 'dial. and U. S. colloq' for Modern English. The use of at for expressing notions of 'motion toward' is labeled 'obsolete.' A citation for such use is given from as late as 1528, however. The use of at for pre-infinitival complementizer in dialects of northern England was mentioned in Section 4.1. Within the larger Germanic family of languages, the two lexical items to and at have long overlapped. In Modern German and Dutch, at is lost and its place largely taken by a form of to. In Scandinavian, to is lost, with at taking over the function of complementizer before the infinitive. Because of the variation between to and at in earlier English, particularly for nonstandard dialects, it is reasonably certain that early Gullah speakers would have been exposed to some variation in the use of these locative prepositions. Such variation has persisted even into the twentieth century; as late as 1960 the use of static-to was recorded in the speech of residents of a remote North Carolina island settled by English pilots and their families in the early 1700's (Morgan, 1960). I myself heard older white speakers of coastal South Carolina use it in informal conversation during 1974. Kurath (1949), however, reports

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193 that the use of static-to is not frequent in this area for
1977 an idiomatic expression like sick at my stomach, and Bryant (1962) reports studies of the expression to home which indicate heavy usage of static-to in rural New England but relatively infrequent use in the Southern states. From these sketchy reports, it seems reasonable to assume that static-to could be heard in early Carolina English, but that at was at least equally frequent. Despite this variation for English speakers, Turner's 1949 texts indicate that to was used almost exclusively by Gullah speakers for the expression of both static and dynamic locative relationships. The question arises as to why to, rather than at, was chosen for the expression of such relationships.

000 There exists no clear preference for static-to in other English creoles. The Caribbean creoles which derive from contact between English and African languages have a division of the semantic space 'locative' which is roughly similar to that of Gullah (see Traugott, 1974 on Barbadian and Trinidadian English Creoles). One lexical item is used to indicate both static location and movement toward ego. The Caribbean creole for which the greatest amount of data exist, Jamaican, apparently uses at for both static and dynamic notions (Cassidy, 1961; Bailey, 1966; Cassidy and LePage, 1967). There is much variation in all these creoles, but at is the preposition most favored for the indication of both static and motional notions; to is used to express

000 'movement toward' only in registers near to standard, or for speakers whose grammar is close to that of the standard (Lilith Haynes, personal communication). In Jamaican Creole,
•193 by varies with at for expression of static notions. Common to Gullah and these Caribbean creoles is the choice of one lexical marker for the same semantic space. The question as to why to was chosen in Carolina and at was chosen in the Caribbean cannot be answered definitively. The instability of these grammatical markers in the Germanic language family, of which English is a part, may have had something to do with the different choices in these English-related creoles. What is significant for the study here, however, is that the creoles have in common a reduced inventory of lexical items for the semantactic category 'locative,' and that this reduction is made at the same abstract level in the grammar. The basic division into positive and negative orientation along the directional axis is retained, but the further division of positive orientation into static and dynamic is not made by separate lexical markers at the most creolized
000 end of the language continuum. Figure 4 on page 76 represents the marking relationships between a composite set of locative prepositions in the English-based Caribbean creoles
193 of Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Guyana. The difference in the lexical items chosen for Gullah and for the Caribbean creoles lends support to Hancock's claim (1975) for different origins for the Carolina creole and the Caribbean

000

Direction		Dimension: Non-inclusion UNMARKED 0-1	Dimension: Non-inclusion UNMARKED 1-2	Dimension: Inclusion MARKED 2-3
Positive UNMARKED	static / dynamic	at, by	pun, pan	in(a)
Negative MARKED		from	off, down (from)	out(a)

Figure 4. Locative Prepositions Used in Caribbean Creoles (based on Traugott, 1974 and data from Lilith Haynes)

193 creoles. The many similarities between them can be accounted for by their common creole typology and by the English and West African base common to the pidgin languages which preceded them. Their similar division of semantic space highlights the tendency of creoles, as non-expanded languages, to utilize a reduced inventory of lexical items for surface marking of grammatical categories. Their common expansion of the unmarked portion of the directional axis reflects universal tendencies of languages to expand unmarked, rather than marked, categories with the introduction of new lexical

•193 items.

4.2.3 Variation and Change for the Static-Locative Preposition in Gullah

In contemporary Gullah as spoken in rural Georgetown County, three prepositional variants are used for the expression of simple non-dimensional or one-dimensional static location:

to
∅
at

For adult speakers, to is by far the most frequent variant. Only two middle-aged women and two young people were recorded as having no static-to in their speech; the families of all these speakers used to. One older woman used to categorically, but most speakers used it along with another variant or variants. Examples of the three variants are given below:

STATIC-LOCATIVE

∅:

(37) people used to live ∅ the four corner (S5)
'people used to live at the four corners [of the island]'

(38) don't hardly salt Em down, cure Em ∅ home--at home, no more now (S8)
'[they] hardly ever salt them [hogs] down and cure them at home any more now'

(39) they be home ∅ four clock (S2)
'they'll be home at four o'clock'

•193 to: (40) we had to go with the boat used to stop to Waverly (S7)

'we had to go on the boat that used to stop at Waverly'

(41) I didn't hitch Em to my daughter-in-law, you know (S2)

'I didn't fasten it [clip-on mike] at my daughter-in-law's house, you know'

(42) can we stay to the table (S22)

'can we stay [seated] at the table?'

at: (43) they just had to stay at home and help take care of the children (S9)

(44) what you don't want to carry to the thrasher at Waverly Mill . . . (S20)

(45) you ain't know where they make Em at (S2)

'you didn't know where they made them [fanner baskets] at'

Because standard English also uses g in phrases containing the lexical item home, it has sometimes been difficult to tell when a Gullah g represents a true nonstandard or creole variant. Mustanoja (1960:97) observes that home was originally a dative in Old English and traditionally was not used with the prepositional marker which replaced dative endings in later stages of English. For the Gullah data, a construction has been considered a g-variant where standard English would require a surface preposition.

The use of at as static-locative encompasses a nonstandard use as an adverbial particle, occurring at the end of a sentence:

•193

(46) ee ain't quite no place over here fɛ put you house at (S15)

'there isn't much of a place over here to put your house'

(47) I would rather bring my family up here where I was raised at (S16)

This use of at is counted with the creole and nonstandard variants, shown in Table 2. Although nonstandard at is found in other varieties of English, the position taken here is that this use may be one of the earliest uses in Gullah because of its salient position at the end of a sentence. In the data, one of its occurrences is in the speech of an older woman who uses ninety percent creole and nonstandard variants. No speaker who is a heavy user of standard at uses it. The other three uses of at are similar to those for standard English:

temporal: (48) it wouldn't burn but so much at a time no way (S8)

'it wouldn't burn but so much at a time anyway'

spatial: (49) if they, say, run out of wood during the week, and you are at school, then they may go out there and get a load like that (S11)

emphatic: (50) they was no house been no where 'round at all (S5)

'there weren't any houses around anywhere at all'

One use of at by a middle-aged woman seems to involve a hypercorrection; she uses at where standard usage would call for to:

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 81]

•193

(51) we had to walk a good ways, you know, to come over here at this area to school (S10)

As Table 2 indicates, the temporal uses of at are at least as frequent as the spatial uses. Emphatic uses are the least frequent; these uses are more figurative than the more basic spatial and temporal instances, including phrases like 'at all' and 'at least.' If temporal and emphatic uses of at are admitted to be more highly marked than spatial uses (following H. Clark, 1973; Traugott, 1974), then marked instances of static-at outnumber unmarked uses in the data collected for this study. Table 2 A shows the distribution of the variants used for static-locative preposition in the speech of seventeen adults.

The direction of change indicated by this distribution is that both Ø and nonstandard at vary with static-to, when standard at begins to appear as a locative marker in Gullah. The figures are much too small to form an implicational scale, but the wide range of prepositional use by these adults for this category gives a strong suggestion of the direction of change. The early appearance of marked uses of at in these data and their greater frequency than unmarked uses suggests that the initial uses of the standard form may be for the expression of temporal and emphatic notions, later spreading to spatial notions formerly expressed by to. Continued study of Gullah speech communities as the spread of at progresses would help to establish this

A. [See Category 19, p. 80--Analyst]

•193 point. It is significant that the data show no temporal uses of static-to, as for sentences like:

*they be home to four o'clock

'they'll be home at four o'clock'

The absence of examples of static-to used for such temporal notions suggests that its semantic domain is limited to spatial notions only. The introduction of at to express static temporal notions could be seen as filling a gap in the Gullah lexicon initially, with subsequent expansion of the domain of the new lexical item to encompass that of older static-to for static spatial notions.

In summary, Gullah at present shows expansion of the prepositional category used to express unmarked positive locative relationships along the directional axis. Where to was previously used for the expression of 'position at' as well as for 'movement toward,' at is being introduced for the notion of 'position at' and is used categorically by a few speakers for this notion. Most speakers retain some instances of to for this notion, which co-exist with ø and nonstandard at. The standard at seems to enter first in its marked uses for temporal and emphatic notions, with later expansion to less marked spatial notions. The static-locative preposition, as a grammatical category undergoing change in Gullah, shows a much slower rate of change than the complementizer previously discussed.

193 4.3 Third Person Singular Pronouns

This section focuses on the personal pronouns of Gullah. The pronouns for third person often differ from those for first and second person across languages, in distinctions made for gender, place, and levels of politeness. The pronouns used for third person singular in Gullah are the subject of the present discussion. Usage for this grammatical category is not entirely stable in other varieties of English, especially in appositional and conjunctive structures where a pronoun marked for objective or accusative case often appears in subject position. Considerable variation is exhibited in Gullah at present in all forms used for third person singular. Only usage of single pronouns is included in the present study; examples of double pronouns such as he and I have been eliminated from consideration because they would require a more detailed consideration of their use in standard English than can be provided here.

128 193 Evidence from other English-related pidgins and creoles will be presented in section 4.3.1 and from historical stages and dialectal varieties of English in section 4.3.2 to show that the variation exhibited by the third person singular pronouns of Gullah is systematic and characteristic of a creole, not an historical dialect of English. Section 4.3.3 will discuss pronominal variation in Gullah.

193 The forms for the personal pronouns in Gullah found

• 193 by Turner (1949: 227), Cunningham (1970: 21, 200), and the present investigator are given below. The absence of a form for a particular slot indicates that no form was reported in the data available. Values for the symbols used by the three different researchers are given below.

		TURNER	CUNNINGHAM	NICHOLS
nom. sing.	1	mi, mɪ	me, I	me, I
	2	unə	you	you
	3m	i	him, he	ee, it, he
	f	-	him, he, she	ee, he, her, she
	n	-	he, it	ee, he, it
nom. plur.	1	wi	we	we
	2	unə	hEnE, y'all	yunE, y'all
	3	dɛm, de	them, they	them, they
obj. sing.	1	mi	me	me
	2	unə	you	you
	3m	hɪm, əm	Em, him	Em, it, him
	f	-	Em, him, sho	Em, she, her
	n	-	Em, him	Em, ee, it
obj. plur.	1	wi	we	we, us
	2	unə	hEnE, y'all	-
	3	dɛm	Em, him, them	Em, them
poss. sing.	1	mi, mɪɪ	me(-own), my	me, my
	2	unə	your(-own)	you, your
	3m	hɪm	him(-own), he	ee, he, him, his
	f	i	she(-own)	ee, he, she, his, her
	n	-	-	ee
poss. plur.	1	wi	we(-own)	we, our
	2	unə	hEnE(-own), y'all	-
	3	dɛm, dɛm on	them(-own), they	them, they, their

Figure 5. Gullah Personal Pronouns

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193 194 Values for the vowel symbols are as follows:

TURNER:
i - the vowel sound in meet
I - the vowel sound in hit
ɛ - the vowel sound in met
e - the vowel sound in fate
ə - the sound of a in Cuba
ɒ - the vowel sound in not, British pronunciation

CUNNINGHAM & NICHOLS
ɐ - the vowel sound in but or the unstressed vowel of Cuba
Standard orthography is used for all others.

193 The forms given by Turner seem to be normalized in the direction of what he considered to be the most typically creole form. His texts indicate considerably more variation for his speakers than does his paradigm. The text for Diana Brown of Edisto Island, for example, shows both unə and you used for nominative singular and only you for objective singular, while the paradigm gives only the creole form unə in both positions. For third singular, this informant uses i for all genders, as well as im for masculine gender and it for neuter gender in the nominative case. In the objective case she uses ən for all genders. Cunningham's paradigm shows much greater variation, probably reflecting both her concern to record variant forms and the later date of her study. She does not, however, distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated variants of the nominative and possessive he. The present study makes this distinction on the grounds that the patterns for use of ee and he are of some theoretical interest. The variant forms of the personal pronouns found by both Cunningham and the present study are ordered, left

•193 to right, from most creole to most standard form.

000 4.3.1 Case and Gender in Other Pidgins and Creoles

The third person singular pronouns have been studied by a number of creolists. The findings of a representative sampling of them are briefly summarized here. Perlman's 1973 dissertation on Hawaiian Pidgin and Creole reported both a potential absence of gender marking in the forms used for this grammatical category and variation in their use. Perlman indicates that the masculine object can be realized as Vowel + [m], that the neuter object exhibits variation between ø, om, and it, and that the feminine object is realized by either ø, om, her, or it. Cassidy (1961) comments on a similar lack of gender marking in earlier stages of Jamaican Creole, noting that i was formerly recorded as used for all genders in the subject position. Apparently limited to neuter at present, i is recorded as used for both neuter nominative and objective by Bailey in her 1966 dissertation on Jamaican Creole. Like Cassidy, she reports im as the principal form used for masculine and feminine in all cases, sharing designation of neuter gender with i. Similar to Jamaican Creole, Melanesian Pidgin uses em as the basic third person singular pronoun for all genders in the nominative and objective cases, and varies with en for the neuter object (Mihalic, 1971). For the possessive in Melanesian, bilong em varies with bilong en. In his 1968 dictionary of

•193 groups can be seen to designate either 1) simple 'other,' as in Cameroons and Melanesian, 2) a further distinction of the 'other' as functioning in a particular grammatical role within the sentence, as in Sierra Leone Krio and Gullah, or 3) a distinction of the 'other' in terms of some natural-world characteristic, as in Jamaican Creole and perhaps in Guyanese. The following schema is offered to show these groupings:

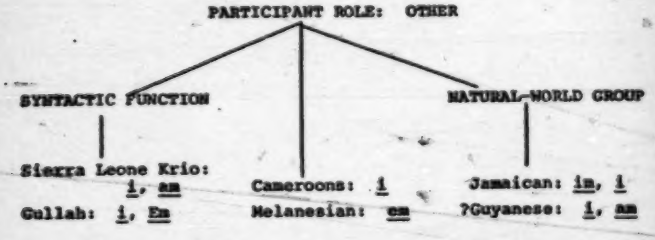

Figure 6. Third Person Singular Pronouns in Creoles and Pidgins

.000 Standard English, as an expanded language with a full range of functions, classified the personal pronouns having deictic orientation toward 'other' by both syntactic function and by natural-world group. While it is not a necessary characteristic of all expanded languages that both classifi-

000 While it might be argued that some categorical reduction of genders does exist along lines of feminine-'all others,' the distributional factors associated with the various forms discussed above makes it unlikely that such a reduction would have been complete for any one dialect. The retention of case distinctions is clear.

•193 The striking differences between the forms used in Gullah for third person singular pronouns (Figure 5)[A] and those used both in earlier stages of English (Figures 7 and 8) and in modern dialects spoken in England (Figure 9) can be accounted for only by taking into account the history of Gullah as an English-related creole, spoken by people originating in West Africa. At no stage and in no dialect do the pronouns of English lose distinctions for gender. Pronominal systems characteristic of certain languages in West Africa lack such distinctions. Yoruba, to take just one example of a language spoken in western Nigeria, has a pronominal system which utilizes a single form ọ́ for 'he,' 'she,' and 'it' in subject position; this particular language uses different pronominal forms for subject and object functions within the sentence. As previously discussed, creoles and pidgins typically show reduced distinctions in the third person singular pronouns (see Figure 6),[B] some making natural-world distinctions of gender, some distinguishing between syntactic functions within the sentence, and others making only the distinction 'other' as a partici-

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193

A, [For Figure 5, see Category 193, p.84--Analyst]
B, [For Figure 6, see Category 193, p.89--Analyst]

193 pant role for third person pronoun. The different patterns for Gullah and for the English-related Caribbean creoles in this grammatical category argue strongly for different origins for Gullah and for creoles like Jamaican and Guyanese. Further investigation may even show that different African languages served as the source languages for the original pidgins from which these creoles derive.

4.3.3 Variation in Gullah Third Person Singular Pronouns

Eight different forms are used for the third person singular pronouns in Gullah as it is currently spoken in Georgetown County. Examples of the variants used are given below for the three genders and cases corresponding to those used in standard English, with the exception of the neuter possessive. Almost no examples of neuter possessive occur in the data. The eight forms used for masculine, feminine and neuter subject, for masculine, feminine, and neuter object, and for masculine and feminine possessive are given below, with examples of their typical uses. The most creolized forms are given first, the standard forms last, in the examples for each category.

ee
Em
he
she
her
him
it
his

• 193 MASCULINE SUBJECT

ee (52) I ain't know; ee must-a hide in them-wood or something (S1)

'I don't know; he must have hidden in the woods or something'

he (53) he took ee mother 'long with Em (S1)

'he took his mother along with him'

FEMININE SUBJECT

ee (54) and ee had--Miss Hassell had--ee had all kinds of flowers (S2)

'and she had--Miss Hassell had--she had all kinds of flowers'

he (55) if he see me, he blow ee car (S2)

'if she sees me, she blows [the horn in] her car'

she (56) but she ain't see me and I ain't see her (S2)

'but she hasn't seen me and I haven't seen her'

NEUTER SUBJECT

ee (57) and ee was foggy, and they couldn't see (S1)

'and it was foggy, and they couldn't see'

it (58) it was kinda tough (S8)

MASCULINE OBJECT

Em (59) he build five house--one for ee-self and four for people that ee had to help Em (S8)

'he built five houses--one for himself and four for people that he had to help him'

•193

him (60) and that how I heard about him (S2)

'and that's how I heard about him'

FEMININE OBJECT

Em (61) but I ain't see she fE tell Em nothing (S2)

'but I haven't seen her to tell her anything'

her (62) but she ain't see me and I ain't see her (S2)

'but she hasn't seen me and I haven't seen her'

NEUTER OBJECT

Em (63) I ain't know fE get Em off (S8)

'I don't know how to get it [microphone] off'

it (64) you fan the rice out in it (S2)

MASCULINE POSSESSIVE

ee (65) ee mother was just as tall as he was (S1)

'his mother was just as tall as he was'

his (66) his brother Charlie older than him, he's a city doctor (S3)

'his brother Charlie who is older than he is--he's a city doctor'

FEMININE POSSESSIVE

ee (67) I'm the only colored girl on this place she hold in ee hand (S1)

'I'm the only colored girl on this place that she held in her hand'

her (68) so that been on her floor, in ee house (S2)

'so that was on her floor, in her house'

•193 only the forms used most frequently are given in the above examples as typical uses for a given category. Table 3 below shows the distribution of these forms for thirteen adult speakers, as well as the scattered occurrence of other forms which may represent hypercorrections in the transition from creole to standard forms. For example, it occurs three times for NSubject and twice for NObject in the speech of speakers who use primarily standard forms for every category. Her occurs once for FSubject and she three times for FObject. He occurs twice for the only speaker who has no standard forms for NSubject (Speaker 2), and ee occurs a few times as NObject for three different speakers. The possessive case shows a number of scattered, infrequent forms; both he and him occur a few times for NPossessive and she and his occur for FPossessive.

The table below represents the pronominal usage of thirteen speakers from a small portion of one county, most of whom interact with each other daily. Speakers 11 and 10 are husband and wife; speakers 12 and 14 are father and daughter. The speech data from these speakers were collected by me in similar recording environments, using almost identical topics for conversation. The distribution of pronouns used shows both considerable variation as well as the outline of a systematic pattern. The common categorical distribution seems to be in the direction of a distinction throughout between those forms marked for objective case and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 101]

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19 porting evidence for Hancock's claim (1975) for different origins for these creoles, and should be expected in light of the previous discussion about different patterns for marking participant roles in different creoles. That such differences persist today for Gullah and Guyanese Creole may reflect different developmental patterns in the change from creole to standard forms, stemming from original differences in classification for this grammatical category. Different source languages for Gullah and Guyanese Creole are suggested as the ultimate origin of this difference in pronominal marking.

•193 It seems clear that, while there is great variation in the forms used for this grammatical category in Gullah by speakers in rural Georgetown County, it is not possible to write a variable rule which would cover all speakers in the manner of Labov (1969). For neuter third person pronouns in the subject environment, to take just one example, Speaker 2 has ee categorically, Speaker 7 has variation between ee and it (with ee predominating), Speaker 16 has variation with it predominating, and Speaker 14 has it categorically. This particular grammatical category, with its large number of divisions by case and gender, lends itself to the kind of implicational scaling proposed by DeCamp (1971) and Bailey (1973) and used by Bickerton (1973) for pronouns in Guyanese Creole. Even for the small number of speakers in the Gullah study, the outline of an implicational

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TABLE 3

THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUN DISTRIBUTION FOR THIRTEEN SPEAKERS

Category	'it' NSub			'he' NSub			'she' FSub				'it' NObj			'her' FObj			'him' NObj			'his' NPos				'her' FPos			
variants	ee	he	it	ee	it	he	ee	he	her	she	Em	ee	it	Em	she	her	Em	it	him	ee	he	him	his	ee	she	his	her
Speaker																											
2	Δ	Δ		Δ		▽	Δ	Δ		▽	Δ	Δ	▽	Δ	Δ	▽	Δ		▽	Δ			▽	Δ	Δ	Δ	▽
1	Δ		▽	Δ		▽	Δ			▽	Δ		▽			▽	Δ		▽	Δ			▽	Δ			▽
8	Δ		▽	Δ		▽	Δ			▽	Δ		▽	Δ			Δ				Δ		▽		Δ		▽
7	Δ		▽		(▽)						Δ	Δ	▽					(▽)					▽				
3	Δ		▽	Δ	Δ	▽	Δ			▽			(▽)				Δ	Δ	▽	Δ	Δ		▽	Δ			▽
11	Δ		▽	Δ	Δ	▽	Δ			▽	Δ	Δ	▽				Δ		▽	Δ		Δ	▽				▽
12		(▽)			(▽)				Δ	▽	Δ		▽		Δ	▽							▽				▽
5	Δ		▽		Δ	▽	Δ			▽			▽										▽				▽
6	Δ		▽	Δ		▽				▽			▽			▽			▽				▽				▽
16	Δ		▽			▽				▽			▽														▽
10			▽			▽				▽			▽										▽				
9			▽			▽				▽			▽			▽											▽
14			▽			▽				▽			▽			▽			▽				▽				

▽ = standard variant
Δ = creole or nonstandard variant
Shading indicates significantly greater number of tokens for this type of variant.
Deviations circled.

•193 those forms for other cases. The variant Em is reserved for object pronouns, occurring neither in the data for the present study nor in the forms reported by Cunningham and Turner for any other case. The variant ee is used for both subject and possessive forms. On the basis of both distribution across categories and frequency of occurrence, the two basic creole forms for Gullah third person pronouns of singular number are here identified as ee for both nominative and possessive cases and Em for objective case.

In Table 3, both variation of forms for each category is indicated as well as the predominance of one form over another when present for a given speaker. The number of speakers is small, and the scale represents an informal ranking rather than a statistically significant one.

Actual numbers of third person singular pronouns and percentages of creole and nonstandard variants used by the same thirteen speakers are provided in Table 4. The percentages in Table 4 indicate that all speakers except one use more standard forms for third person singular pronouns than creole or nonstandard forms. The distribution shown by Table 3 indicates that, as speakers change in the direction of the standard forms, the first forms to change have been those for feminine and masculine possessive,[7] followed by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 103]

[7] As previously indicated, forms for neuter possessive have been omitted from the analysis because of their infrequence of occurrence in the data.

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TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF CREOLE AND NONSTANDARD VARIANTS USED FOR THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS BY THIRTEEN SPEAKERS

	% Creole/ Nonstandard	No. Possible Occurrences
Speaker		
2	79%	101
1	39%	87
8	39%	66
7	23%	96
3	15%	103
11	14%	125
12	6%	49
5	14%	50
6	3%	68
16	8%	66
10	0%	48
9	0%	19
14	0%	114

193 the object forms in masculine, feminine, and neuter genders. The last to change are those for subject. This distribution contrasts with that found for the third person singular pronouns in Guyanese Creole by Bickerton (1973). For Guyanese, Bickerton found masculine possessive forms to change last, while feminine subject forms changed first. Figure 10 shows the ranking of pronominal categories in the two creoles, from most creolized to least creolized:

	GUYANESE	GULLAH
Most creolized	MPos	MSub
.	MSub	MSub
.	FPos	FSub
.	MObj	MObj
.	FObj	FObj
.	NObj	MObj
.	FSub	MPos
Least creolized		FPos

Figure 10. Creolization of Third Person Singular Pronouns in Gullah and Guyanese Creole

19 The lists are ordered, from most creolized to least creolized categories. The top category in each column is the last to show standard forms for each creole. Bickerton did not include masculine subject forms in his analysis, reporting that (h)i occurred in its pre-aspirated form even in the most

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•193 scale emerges. For such small numbers, it was necessary to look at the predominance of one form over the others used for a given environment rather than a simple yes/no indication of variation as used in the Bickerton study. I suggest that valuable information may be lost in the reduction of variation in the analysis to either occurrence or non-occurrence, and that new insights might be gained by indicating percentages in the manner of Labov (1969) or Sankoff (1974), or at least by showing which forms predominate for a given speaker. I also believe that Bickerton may be losing valuable information about linguistic change by ignoring social factors in his analysis. While it is true that the Gullah pronouns show systematic variation strictly in terms of linguistic environment (see Table 3), it is also true that social factors can be shown to be correlated with the activation of linguistic variation. The difficulty with using sociological categories developed in urban environments for rural creole communities will be discussed in the next chapter. I will indicate here only that the manner in which the present research was conducted, with the researcher having a functional role in the community, was an important factor in determining the natural age groupings, as well as the occupational and economic groups within the geographic area studied.

To summarize the systematic linguistic variation found here, the third person singular pronouns in Gullah

193 show a patterned change from simple distinction of two syntactic cases of objective and non-objective, to distinction of three cases and inclusion of the three gender distinctions based on natural-world categories which is characteristic of standard English. The pronominal category for which simple case distinctions characteristic of the creole are retained the longest is that of neuter subject, with subject forms generally being the last to change toward standard. The activation of the change from creole to standard forms is related to the social factors of sex, age, and mobility which are the subject of the final chapter.

4.4 Summary

A comparison of the use of creole and nonstandard variants for sixteen speakers in the three grammatical categories chosen for this study shows that the pre-infinitival complementizer is changing in the direction of the standard fastest of the three. The pronouns for third person singular are changing somewhat slower, and the static-locative preposition is slowest of the three, with all but two speakers using at least some creole and nonstandard variants in this category. Although the number of speakers is small, a clear implicational scale of their linguistic behavior for these three categories emerges. Table 5 indicates that if a speaker uses creole and nonstandard variants for the complementizer, that speaker will use such variants for the pronouns and the preposition as well. The preposition

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 109]

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TABLE 5

CREOLE AND NONSTANDARD VARIANTS FOR THREE GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

Speaker	PREPOSITION	PRONOUNS	COMPLEMENTIZER	% A
2	A (V)	A V	A V	78
1	A	A V	A V	68
15	A	A V	A V	52
16	A	A V	A V	42
8	A V	A V	A V	39
7	A V	A V	A V	35
5	A V	A V	A V	38
3	A V	A V	A V	35
4	A V	A V	V	32
12	A V	A V	V	31
6	A V	A V	V	23
11	A V	A V	V	15
13	(A)	V	V	33
10	A V	V	V	8
9	V	V	V	0
14	V	V	V	0

A = creole or nonstandard variants
V = standard variants

Shading indicates significantly greater tokens for this type of variant.

Deviations circled.

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•193 shows the most resistance to change; for most speakers creole or nonstandard forms predominate in this category, while standard forms predominate in the other two categories for most speakers. Variation for the complementizer and pronominal forms has been underway for some time; Turner's texts collected in the 1930's and 1940's show variation for these categories. Almost no use of standard at appears in his texts, however, indicating that the variation in the prepositional category is of relatively recent origin.

Even though an implicational scale seems to characterize the relationship between these linguistic variables, I find no internal evidence for changes in one category influencing those in another. Progression toward the standard seems to be relatively independent for each category. The common denominator across categories is the retention of creole variants longest in those meanings which seems most basic to the category. The particle fE, associated with notions of purpose and result, is retained longest as a complementizer for purposive clauses. The pronominal form ee is retained longest for indication of subjects in neuter gender, thereby retaining the original Gullah distinction between subject and object forms not made by standard English it. The preposition to is retained longest for indication of static location in space, while the standard at seems to be introduced early for temporal and figurative notions which are more highly marked than

193 spatial ones and which are never expressed by static-to.

193 177 As lexical items, the creole variants seem to have their own individual histories, even though all seem clearly to be English in origin. The complementizer fE is likely to derive from English for, used as complementizer in earlier stages and in some modern dialects of English. The widespread use of a similar particle as both case marker and complementizer in other English-related pidgins and creoles suggests that a more universal process underlies the choice of this particle as complementizer, however (see Washabaugh's 1975 discussion of fo in a variety of West African Pidgin English, fi in Providence Island Creole and in the creole of San Andres Island in Colombia, fi in Jamaican Creole, fi and fu in Guyanese Creole, and fo in Hawaiian Creole). The pronouns oo and Em probably come from English he and him, but their use for all genders has no parallel in any dialect of English. The underlying categories marked by these creole forms, which differ from those categories marked by similar forms in Jamaican and Guyanese creoles, may reflect the structure of West African languages different from those languages serving as source languages for the Caribbean creoles. Finally, the to used as static locative preposition is undoubtedly English in origin and has the strongest claim for direct lineage from those English dialects which use to in a similar fashion. Older white speakers in rural South Carolina can still be found

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using to with the meaning of 'static location.' The use of at and by with the meaning of both 'static location' and 'dynamic movement toward' by creole speakers in the Caribbean may indicate the early presence there of speakers of different English dialects, perhaps originating in northern England and Ireland. Although the variants used for static locative preposition in South Carolina and the Caribbean may derive ultimately from dialectal varieties of English common to those two parts of the world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the reduced inventory of locative prepositions common to both Gullah and the Caribbean English creoles seems related more to the typology of creoles than to dialectal variation in English.

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121 differences is included in the sections on age and mobility, as well as in the section which follows.

5.1.2 Sex Differences in the Mainland and Island Communities

In the present study, the two communities identified in Chapter 2 loosely constitute two social classes, in the region under study. The existence of these groups was determined by becoming a participant in the social life of the larger community of rural Georgetown County, in the manner described in Chapter 2. From the river island community, which was the primary focus of this study, two women and two men were selected from three age groups and the speech used by them in unstructured conversation was compared for the use of three linguistic variables. The age groups selected were determined to be natural groupings for the communities studied, and will be discussed in 5.2. From the mainland community, two men and two women in the oldest age group were compared for the use of the same variables. 121 The percentages of creole and nonstandard variants used by • 193 these selected speakers for a static-locative preposition, the pre-infinitival complementizer, and the third person singular pronouns are given in Table 6 below, ordered according to the rate at which these variables are changing toward the standard forms. Validity for the findings presented here is not claimed solely on the basis of the small sample of sixteen speakers, but on the combination of this

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 121]

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TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF CREOLE AND NONSTANDARD VARIANTS USED BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS

		Speaker	PREPOSITION		PRONOUNS		COMPLEMENTIZER		Overall c/ns	Sex Groups c/ns
			%	N	%	N	%	N	%	%
MAINLAND	old	1f	100	(7)	39	(87)	66	(12)	68	f 73
		2f	90	(20)	79	(101)	65	(26)	78	
		3m	70	(10)	15	(103)	20	(5)	35	m 34
		4m	50	(4)	47	(15)	0	(3)	32	
		old adults							53%	
ISLAND	old	5f	57	(7)	14	(50)	43	(7)	38	f 31
		6f	67	(6)	3	(68)	0	(7)	23	
		7m	70	(10)	23	(96)	11	(28)	35	m 37
		8m	70	(10)	39	(66)	6	(30)	39	
		old adults							34%	
	middle	9f	0	(1)	0	(19)	0	(7)	0	f 4
		10f	25	(4)	0	(48)	0	(7)	8	
		11m	30	(10)	14	(125)	0	(24)	15	m 23
		12m	86	(7)	6	(49)	0	(11)	31	
		middle adults							8%	
	young	13f	100	(2)	0	(5)	0	(3)	33	f 17
		14f	0	(15)	0	(114)	0	(36)	0	
		15m	100	(4)	40	(5)	17	(12)	52	m 47
		16m	100	(1)	8	(66)	17	(12)	42	
		young adults							32%	

N = number of possible occurrences
f = female speaker
m = male speaker

121 193 statistical evidence, participant-observation in the community which confirms these findings, and from the close family relationships which obtain between several of the speakers represented in Table 6, who nevertheless show striking differences in language use.

121 562 193 184 In the mainland community, older men use more standard forms than older women--a finding which differs from that of previous studies of sex differences, except Fasold's study of the black working class in Washington, D. C. For the island community, women generally use more standard forms than men in all three age groups, although speakers in the oldest age group show very little difference in the use of creole and nonstandard forms. Women in this group use 31 percent creole and nonstandard variants in 145 possible occurrences, while men use 37 percent of 240. The heaviest users of standard forms are middle aged women in the island community.

121 562 463 193 184 I suggest that sex differences in language used by the two communities are more directly related to occupational opportunities than to sex roles as such. The occupational choices are limited by the factor of sex, to be sure, but the sex of speaker affects language choice only indirectly, in my analysis of the social factors influencing language choice. In rural South Carolina, the occupations open to black women have been extremely limited until very recently. While the vast majority of black women in this

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829 present study, a foster son of this couple returned from New
186 York after the father's death to live with his mother on the
562 island. Despite the difficult living conditions, the island remains a valued place to come home to for both middle aged and older adults. Those with the greatest degree of identification with island life seemed to be young men and older adults of both sexes.

5.2 Age of Speaker and Language Use

121 Age groups were selected on the basis of natural
561 groupings which existed in the island community itself.
484 Young people from the age of junior high school up to the early twenties formed a natural group which commuted daily to the mainland, and organized parties and dances on the island. Middle aged adults from about 30 to 50 had growing families of their own and commuted to mainland jobs daily. Older adults over 65 had either slowed down or quit entirely their mainland jobs and spent much of their time daily on the island itself; they, with a small group of pre-school children, constituted the day-time population of the island.
121 After it became apparent that a portion of the mainland popu-
561 lation differed in important respects from the island com-
184 munity, older adults from the lower socio-economic mainland
121 group were included in the study. Language used by these age
561 groups is compared in Table 6 above (see page 120). The
193 table also reflects the relationship between the social
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121 561 193 [184] factors of sex and age and the language used by a speaker. In the middle aged island group, Speakers 9 and 11 are married to each other; the wife uses no creole features, while the husband uses some for two grammatical categories. Speakers 13 and 15 in the younger age group are their daughter and son; the daughter uses creole and nonstandard forms only for the preposition, while the son uses some in every grammatical category. His overall use of such forms is higher than that of his father. Speaker 12 is the father of Speakers 14 and 16 in the young adult group. Again, the daughter uses no creole forms, while the son uses slightly more than his father in every category. By a slight margin, young island men use more creole and nonstandard forms than speakers in any other age group except older mainland women. Middle aged island speakers use fewest of such forms, chiefly due to the language patterns of women in this group, which exhibit almost none of these variants.

562 193 561 There is some indication that sex differences in the use of creole features may begin as early as seven or eight years for islanders. In narratives told by eight island children from the third through sixth grades in school, boys consistently used more creole and nonstandard variants than girls at their level. By fifth and sixth grades, island girls were using no creole forms in the three selected grammatical categories, while boys' use ranged from 14 percent to 100 percent in the pronominal category for the

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562 stories the children told in recording sessions. The figures
193 obtained from these narratives were small and cannot be com-
561 pared with the data from the longer adult conversations, but they give some indication that sex differences in language use for islanders begin at an early age. In contrast, some of the most creolized utterances obtained in the study were from fifth grade girls and boys of the lower socio-economic mainland group. Mainland girls generally performed better in school than mainland boys in their group, but their language patterns in relaxed conversation were similar. These findings indicate that the factor of 'age-grading' discussed by linguists such as Stewart (1967) and Dillard (1972) operates in rural Georgetown County, and that creole forms may be preserved in the speech of younger children. For the two social groups under discussion here, however, the pattern of age-grading may be different for boys and girls in the island community.

121 5.3 Mobility of Speaker and Language Use

Discussions with Shirley Brice Heath, an anthropologist who has studied language and social relationships in a black urban community in upper South Carolina over a period of five or six years, indicated that geographic mobility might be an important factor in language use. In comparing
193 the experiences of children in the communities we were
369 studying, Heath observed that those children living in the

193 369 urban ghetto which was in sight of City Hall in the upstate community had traveled much less extensively than had the children in the isolated rural community of Georgetown County. The rural children, many of whom had lived for extended periods in northern cities, used far more creole forms in their speech than did urban children in the upcountry. Indications were that these rural children might command a wider range of language structures along the creole continuum than those in the more urban area. In asking about mobility patterns among adult speakers in the island community, I discovered that many, if not most, older men had lived off the island for extended periods of their lives and that most women had commuted off the island on a daily basis to mainland jobs for the past three or four decades. In the mainland community, similar patterns prevailed for men, while women were much less mobile and generally worked near or in their own immediate community. Furthermore, educational patterns for women were different in the two communities to a striking degree. Many mainland women in the older generation were illiterate, while some island women had gone away to college. Land ownership patterns on the island provided a measure of economic security which enabled islanders to help educate their daughters. For these educated island women, geographic mobility was associated with social mobility as well. None who had college educations now lived on the island; some were married to mainland businessmen and

484 464 562 [184] 562 871 184 [212] [423] 167 166 562 871

167 others lived in other states. For speakers whose social
166 situations are roughly similar in other respects, mobility
562 seems to affect language usage to some extent. Table 9
87 provides figures on degree of geographic mobility and use
of creole and nonstandard forms for island and mainland
speakers.

TABLE 7

167 MOBILITY PATTERNS AND PERCENTAGE OF CREOLE AND
166 NONSTANDARD VARIANTS
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		Speaker	% c/ns Variants	Mobility
MAINLAND	old	1f	68	0
		2f	78	0
		3m	35	3
		4m	32	3
ISLAND	old	5f	38	1
		6f	23	3
		7m	35	3
		8m	39	2
	middle	9f	0	2
		10f	8	3
		11m	15	3
		12m	31	2
	young	13f	33	0
		14f	0	1
		15m	52	0
		16m	42	1

Mobility:
0 - never lived or worked outside community
1 - worked daily outside community
2 - lived weekly or monthly outside community
3 - lived yearly outside community

f - female speaker
m - male speaker

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Mobility patterns are different for men and women in the two communities. In the mainland community, men have been considerably more mobile than women. As previously mentioned, one older woman had spent her entire life working as a domestic servant for the owners of a single plantation. The other woman had a more varied employment record as a field laborer, as a cannery worker for a local seafood factory, and as a cook for a middle-class white family. She had never moved far from the sphere of a single plantation, however. Of the men, Speaker 3 in his early thirties had moved onto a plantation with the help of an uncle, and had remained there as a laborer for fifty years. Speaker 4 was the most widely traveled of this group, having received more formal education in his youth than either of the others. He had worked outside the region during a portion of his middle years, acquiring some skills and obtaining better jobs than the other man. Women in this group use more creole and non-standard forms than men, a pattern which reflects both their lack of mobility and their limited occupational choices.

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On the island, older men have been slightly more mobile than older women. Of the women, Speaker 5 has been less mobile than Speaker 6, who lived for a portion of her middle years off the island. Speaker 8 was the only island resident encountered who had never attended school and has been less mobile than Speaker 7. These two men do not differ appreciably in their use of creole forms, however. For

[193]

older island residents, mobility does not seem to influence language use to any great extent, when comparing island residents with each other. When comparing island women and mainland women, however, the greater mobility of island women may well be related to their greater use of standard forms. Among middle aged men from the island, mobility seems to be a factor in the greater use of creole forms by Speaker 12, who refused to commute to a job which prohibits his return to the island nightly. His use of creole features is twice that of Speaker 11, who spent some years working in Washington, D. C. In the younger group, the woman who has been least mobile uses more creole features than Speaker 14, who clerks regularly in a mainland store. Similarly, the young man (Speaker 15) with least mobility reflects this in his speech, when compared with Speaker 16, who works as a waiter in a resort motel during the tourist season. Sex of speaker appears to outweigh degree of mobility as an influence on language use, but within sex, mobility seems to be a contributing factor.

Over and above language use, mobility is an important factor in the population patterns of rural Georgetown County. In a report on Population and Economy in the region encompassing the county, concern is expressed about the migration patterns of younger black residents to northern cities. During a twenty-year period from 1950 to 1970, 76.8 percent of black males and 72.6 percent of black females between

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167 ages 25 and 35 migrated out of the region (Waccamaw Regional Planning and Development Council, 1972). Many of these young people send their children back to the area to be reared by older relatives in a safer environment than the cities can provide, and many return themselves in later life. But the fact remains that the region is losing its young black men and women in great numbers. These migration pat- [197] terns are no doubt an important contributing factor to the rapid language changes now underway for much of the black population in the region.

5.4 Relationship Between Social Factors and Linguistic Variation

121 By noting which individual speakers are most ad- •193 vanced in the language change discussed in Chapter 4, it is 198 possible to show an association between social factors discussed in this chapter and the pattern of variation described in the previous chapter. The progression of change for the three linguistic variables was found to be: first, the complementizer; next, the pronouns; and last, the preposition. The language use of the sixteen speakers described in the present chapter is reflected in Table 5 of Chapter 4. (See page 108.) Along the implicational scale shown there, only a younger and a middle aged island woman (Speakers 14 and 9) are shown to use exclusively standard <u>at</u> in the prepositional category, the one most resistant to change. For the third person pronouns, all four young and middle aged

121 island women use standard forms categorically. Standard
193 forms for the complementizer are used categorically by a
178 more diverse group of speakers: all island men and women in
121 the middle aged group, young island women, one older main-
193 land man and one older island woman. Island men in the
178 oldest and youngest groups and mainland women in the oldest
184 group retain creole forms across all three grammatical categories. Figure 11 indicates which speakers are most resistant to change, according to sex, age, and community membership. Group I is moving most rapidly toward standard forms, while Group III is most resistant to change. Older island women and older mainland men are somewhere in between Group II and III, as indicated by the categorical use of standard forms for the complementizer by one speaker in each of these two groups.

121 In a small number of speakers, carefully matched for
19 sex, age, and social group, it has been possible to find
184 systematic linguistic variation for three morpho-syntactic
561 categories. The activation and progression of linguistic
562 change in these categories are related to the social factors of speaker sex, age, community, and mobility. Those in the forefront of change are young and middle aged women in the island community who have available to them, through occupational roles reserved to their sex, opportunities to participate in a variety of speech events in which standard English is used. Those most resistant to change are also women,

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000 them as active participants in communal life.

5.5 Conclusion

121 Language does not change in a vacuum. It changes as
178 part of the life experiences of people who use it. Because
•193 language is inherently a shared process, those who use it share in determining the direction of change. The analysis of the linguistic variables presented here has shown that the direction of change in Gullah is all in the direction of the standard variety of English. Within each category, speakers show systematic variation which indicates that the meanings or uses most basic to the original creole variables are last to change toward the standard. The variant fE as pre-infinitival complementizer is retained longest for the introduction of purposive clauses. The pronoun es is retained longest to distinguish neuter subject from neuter object Ea, a distinction not made by standard it. The static-locative preposition to is retained for indications of spatial notions, while standard at is introduced for expression of temporal and figurative notions never expressed by the creole to. Although individual speakers show shared patterns of variation in their movement toward the standard, they make separate choices about the speed with which they move toward it.
(562) Young and middle aged women in one community find it advantageous, probably for job-related reasons, to move faster toward the standard than any other segment of their speech

121 178 193 562 community. Older women in another community choose to resist change toward the standard longest of any speakers in the study. The social factors of sex, age, community membership, and geographic mobility have been shown to influence the activation of change. Sex is indicated as the most influential of these social factors, but its effect is different in the two social groups examined here.

121 178 193 The pattern of change exhibited in Gullah does not parallel that reflected in the history of English. For standard English, to is the original pre-infinitival complementizing particle and retains this function today. Originally introducing infinitival forms in variation with infinitival verb endings, to later shared this function with other particles such as at, til, and for. Although some of these forms are retained today in certain dialects of English, to has never lost its original complementizing function in the standard dialect. The status of for in this grammatical category for standard English is presently the subject of debate by synchronic and historical linguists; in some analyses it has become a complementizer in the base structure, while in other analyses it has retained its prepositional status throughout the history of English. By way of contrast, the particle fɛ in Gullah was the original complementizing particle, now being replaced by standard to. In the English pronominal system, the singular personal pronouns were marked for gender throughout the history of

121 English; the animate pronouns were marked for case as well.
178 The original Gullah personal pronouns, ee and Em, are marked
193 for case but not for gender. As Gullah changes toward the standard, these pronouns are acquiring distinctions for gender, but the genderless form ee is retained longest where it marks an original case distinction for inanimates which English does not make. The preposition to was used to mark static location in some earlier dialects of English, as well as dynamic movement, and is still found in some nonstandard dialects today. In its use as a static-locative preposition in Gullah, to holds the strongest claim for origin as a dialectal variant of English. The pattern of expansion for this grammatical category in Gullah, however, is similar to that for English-related creoles in the Caribbean and argues for a development characteristic of an expanding creole rather than of a dialect of English.

121 The basic Gullah variants used for the pronominal
193 and prepositional categories discussed here suggest that the Caribbean creoles and Gullah may have had different histories in important respects. For Gullah, the basic distinction in the personal pronoun system is between the syntactic functions of object and non-object. For the English-related creoles of Jamaican and Guyanese, the basic distinction seems to be between animate and inanimate natural-world classes. In the Gullah prepositional category, to is the variant used for basic locative relationships, while at and by are used

121 193 in the Caribbean for the same semantic domain. These differences in forms used for fundamental grammatical categories suggest that further inquiry into the origins, as well as comparative studies, of all these English-related creoles might lead to further insights about the common patterns of development for expanding languages.

121 178 193 For the analysis of change in Gullah, aspects of both the dynamic model and the quantitative paradigm have been used and both have led to insights about underlying processes. For a complicated grammatical category like the personal pronoun system, the implicational scale utilized in the dynamic model has shown relationships and directions of change not readily perceived through simple frequency counts of variants used by each speaker. For greater faithfulness to the data, however, and for a clearer picture of the patterns of change than simple 'presence or absence' of creole variants would give, some indication of 'more or less' relationships between variants has been included. For showing important relationships between social factors and the activation of linguistic change, quantitative data on individual speakers, whose social characteristics were well established and readily compared with those of other speakers, have been essential. Both models are inadequate at those points where they insist upon categorical divisions rather than allowing for descriptions of continuous, systematic processes. To accurately and fully reflect the findings of the present

121 study, the dynamic paradigm must allow for systematic indi-
178 vidual variation in parts of the grammar undergoing change.
• 193 The quantitative paradigm must allow for more communal variation than is usually considered to exist within the boundaries of a single speech community. Both these models have moved us closer to a conceptualization of language as a process experienced by those who speak it.

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121 2. The variable should have a certain immunity from conscious suppression.
197 3. The variable should be an integral unit of a larger structure.
4. The variable should be easily quantified on a linear scale.

121 My aim is to investigate features that the discipline
197 accepts as characteristic of creole language, and then to
193 contrast frequency counts of these features with those of English. The features selected for this investigation are the preverbal markers and the unmarked third person pronominal forms. These are grammatical categories that will likely appear in any consultant's speech without suppression and with a certain regularity of frequency if they are a part of the speaker's natural grammar, and if the speaker speaks long enough. These variables are an integral part of the grammar of Gullah, and they are easily quantifiable. In addition, Turner (1949) and Cunningham (1970) provide descriptions of these categories for that variety of Gullah most distinct from English. The investigation of these specific categories will help to determine the degree to which Gullah remains distinct or is evolving toward English. Bailey (1966:146) distinguishes the Creole system from the English system through the use of preverbs and third person pronouns in the following manner:

1. The tense system of the Creole is limited to the unmarked verb for general purposes, and a particle specifying 'past'; English has a more elaborate tense system.

2. There is no subject-verb concord in the Creole; the

121 English verb must agree in number with its subject.
197
3. There is no matching of gender and sex in third person
193 pronouns in the Creole; English makes such distinctions.

1.1. Studies of Gullah

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114 Early twentieth-century studies on Gullah were linguistically prejudiced. The language was treated as a corrupted and intrinsically inferior dialect of English. Without regard to the linguistic mechanics of West African languages, A. E. Gonzales attributed the linguistic peculiarities of Gullah to such physical features as full lips and thick tongues. John Bennett, Reed Smith, Guy Johnson and others shared views similar to those of George Krapp of Columbia University who asserted that Gullah was either a close relative of certain British dialects of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries acquired by the African servants from English-speaking supervisors, or that it was only an outgrowth of 'baby talk' that the Europeans used while addressing their servants. In either case, Krapp contended that Gullah was nothing more than an 'intrinsically inferior and simplified form of English with cases, number, gender, and tenses reduced to the vanishing point.' He asserted that 'very little of the dialect or perhaps none of it was derived from sources other than English' (Krapp 1924:192-3).

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CHAPTER 2

THE CREOLE VERB PHRASE

2.0 The Pre-Verbs

121 The quantitative measurement of linguistic variables in Gullah will necessarily involve a computation of variants. The counting itself may seem fairly simple. But, as is so fittingly indicated by Labov (1972a:82),

> ...even the simplest type of counting raises a number of subtle and difficult problems. The final decision as to what to count is actually the final solution to the problem at hand.

My procedure is to limit the number of variants to those which can be identified reliably and to set up appropriate categories for each class of variants. For example, one 121 class of variable is the basilectal verb phrase in Gullah 193 which has bare stems and the preverbal markers /de/, /bin/, /bine/ and /deg/.[1] A quantitative analysis of these forms and their relation to English verbs emerges from the speech of selected consultants whose performances indicate a slant toward:

(1) Isolect A, Creole

(2) Isolect B, a division of usage between Creole and English;

(3) Isolect C, English.

121 The notion of a linguistic continuum aids in the conceptualization of speech varieties ranging from those with features

121 that is expected in creole communities, I now move to more specific investigations of the kind of variation involved in the analysis of the Creole preverbs and English correlates. The corpus includes consultants selected from a
121 115 total of forty speakers ranging in age from 10 to 96 years. Twenty-one were selected from the forty primarily on the length of their recorded speech samples, and their willingness to participate in the study. The speakers are discussed in the Appendix,[A] and numerals corresponding to each name are used when reference is made to particular constructions.

193 Turner (1949) and Cunningham (1970) provide descriptions of the preverbal markers /da/, /bin/, /bina/, and /dɔŋ/ for that variety of Gullah most distinct from English. The preverbs are particles that function as members of the verbal auxiliary and may precede any type of main verb. The verbal categories are marked for aspect opposed to time (Cunningham 1970:63). According to Turner (1949:225) the unmarked form of the verb is used to refer to past, present, or future; and no particular form is used to indicate whether or not an action is continuous. Because Gullah employs a predominantly aspectual system, it is sometimes impossible to make one-to-one correlations with English. But, as with most languages, it is possible to make 'closest approximations'. In Table 2.1 the Creole preverbs and their closest approximation are counted and compared. Table 2.1 shows the diversity of the language situation on Wadmalaw Island, and that there is considerable

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3]

A. [See Category 115, pp. 148-152--Analyst]

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SPEAKERS	FORMS									
	-s	-ed	be	dɔz	-ing	dɔŋ	bínə	bin	də	STEM
12			6	4	10				4	26
7	1		*10	1	4	2	1	3		10
13			3		5	2	2	5		10
4			*6	1	3		3	6	8	30
14			2		3	2		3		12
15					2			2	2	6
16					6		2	3		21
17			1	2	5	2		2		15
18			2					1		3
19					1		3	1		6
20			*5		3	3		3	1	9
21							2	2	8	12
10			1	1	3		3	3	4	26
6	1		*9		2	6		7	5	25
22			1	1	6		4	3	2	24
24			4	1		4	1		3	12
8			5				2	5	7	22
5			1		3	4	2	4	8	21
3			5		1		5	9	7	23
23						2	4	3	4	35
2			*8		5		1	5	10	30
Totals	2	0	69	11	62	27	35	70	73	378

* - Includes Non-Standard features

-s = third person singular verb
-ed = past tense morpheme for all verbs except *be*
-ing = verbal, adjectival and nominal form
be = all forms of verb to be excluding invariant *be*

TABLE 2.1
OUTPUT OF TWENTY-ONE SPEAKERS

[128] The numerals in the columns represent the number of times each speaker used the given forms over a period of time. For example, within a limited time span, speaker number 2 used thirty bare stem verbs, the pre-verbal marker /dɔ/ ten times, and /bɪn/ five times. He used some form of the English verb *to be* eight times, but included in these times are at least four occurrences of *was* and /bɪn/ uttered in conjunction as in *I was bin there*, or used in a non-standard construction such as *I was come out the house* 'I came out of the house.'

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SPEAKERS	FORMS									
	-s	-ed	be	dɔz	-ing	dɔŋ	bina	bin	də	STEM
16					6		2	3		21
21							2	2	8	12
10			1	1	3		3	3	4	26
6	1		*9		2	6		7	5	25
22			1	1	6		4	3	2	24
24			4	1		4	1		3	12
8			*5				2	5	7	22
5			1		3	4	2	4	8	21
3			*5		1		5	9	7	23
23						2	4	3	4	35
2			*8		5		1	5	10	30
19					1		3	1		6
15					2			2	2	6
4			*6	1	3		3	6	8	30
Totals	1	0	40	4	32	16	32	53	68	293

* - Includes Non-Standard features

-s = third person singular verb
-ed = past tense morpheme for all verbs except *be*
-ing = verbal, adjectival and nominal form
be = all forms of verb to *be* excluding invariant *be*

TABLE 2.2
BASILECTAL SPEAKERS

variation among speakers. But, the range of that variation is limited and clearly reflected by the homogenous grammar of the group. Systematic changes for the group are clearly activated in some categories and remain relatively inert in others. The categorical zero realization of the *-ed* suffix associated with English past tense compounded with the consistently high frequency count of the preverb /bɪn/ suggest that the Creole marker is retained by these consultants as the sole past tense indicator. Likewise,

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SPEAKERS	FORMS									
	-s	-ed	be	dɔz	-ing	dɔŋ	bina	bin	də	STEM
12			*6	4	10				4	26
7	1		*10	1	4	2	1	3		10
13			3		5	2	2	5		10
14			2		3	2		3		12
17			1	2	5	2		2		15
18			2					1		3
20			*5		3	3		3	1	9
Totals	1	0	29	7	30	11	3	17	5	85

* - Includes Non-Standard features

-s = third person singular verb
-ed = past tense morpheme for all verbs except *be*
-*ing* = verbal, adjectival and nominal form
be = all forms of verb to be excluding invariant *be*

TABLE 2.3
PRE-MESOLECTAL SPEAKERS

there is little data to indicate movement in the verbal suffix *-s* category. There are only two tokens for the whole group and each of these tokens is an example of faulty concord produced by a husband and wife. The other nineteen speakers adhere to the Creole pattern where there is no subject-verb concord at all.

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Linguistic changes in other categories are obscured in the distribution. To normalize the findings and to give greater accountability to the data, Table 2.1 is divided in order to separate those speakers who show greater familiarity with English from those speakers who show greater retentions from the Creole. Of the twenty-one

(115)

consultants, fourteen reveal features more characteristic of the basilect, and these fourteen are represented in Table

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	FORMS									
	-s	-ed	*be*	dɔz	-*ing*	dɔŋ	bɪnə	bɪn	də	STEM
Basilectal	2	0	60	6	48	24	48	79	102	440
Pre-mesolectal	3	0	87	21	90	33	9	51	15	225

TABLE 2.4
PROPORTIONATE OUTPUT OF TWENTY-ONE SPEAKERS

Values obtained by extrapolation of data in Tables 2.2 and 2.3

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[115]

2.2. Though the division is not clearly defined, the remaining seven speakers are considered pre-mesolectal because their speech patterns indicate greater movement from the preverbs /də/, /bɪn/, bɪnə/ and /dɔŋ/. Equal useage of both English and Creole markers, suggesting a mesolectal speaker, was not apparent in the sample. The data from Tables 2.1 through 2.3 are summarized in Table 2.4. Here, the proportionate useage and frequency of occurrence of basilectal and pre-mesolectal forms in the total population are shown. For example, in proportion to the total population, the speakers in Table 2.2 use /bɪnə/ five times more frequently than those in Table 2.3. These data were obtained by extrapolation. The specific pattern of movement and direction of change in individual categories can only be revealed by discussing particular variants.

2.1. The Verb Stem

The numerals in the verb stem column represent the total number of times an uninflected verb is used by a

128 a speaker. The difference in that number and the figures
193 in the preverbal and postverbal columns would reveal the frequency with which the verb appears in the absence of a marker. Cases where the stem count does not exceed the cumulative categorical count are cases where one or more English or Creole forms appear in the absence of a stem verb.

Table 2.1 shows a significant number of verb stems used by all consultants. Plausible reasons for the use of verb stems in such great frequency are that they express both tense and aspect, occur with all pre-verbal markers, and occur independently in nominal constructions. For
193 example, the following constructions were obtained by asking the consultant to produce semantic equivalents of: *I shell peas daily, I am shelling them now, I shelled them yesterday, I have been shelling them all day, I have finished shelling them, I had finished shelling them a long time ago.*

ɔɪ ʃɛlɛm	'I shell them' (tenseless)	(1)
ɔɪ dɔ ʃɛlɛm	'I am shelling them'	
ɔɪ bin ʃɛlɛm	'I shelled them'	
ɔɪ bin ɔ ʃɛlɛm	'I have been shelling them'	
ɔɪ dɔn ʃɛlɛm	'I have shelled them'	
ɔɪ bindɔn ʃɛlɛm	'I had shelled them some time ago'	

193 The fact that Creole verb stems have not been replaced
177 by standard English inflections indicates that it is more natural to retain an invariant verb stem than to acquire a new rule for a different system of marking. Consequently,

128 a speaker. The difference in that number and the figures
193 in the preverbal and postverbal columns would reveal the frequency with which the verb appears in the absence of a marker. Cases where the stem count does not exceed the cumulative categorical count are cases where one or more English or Creole forms appear in the absence of a stem verb.

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ɔɪ ʃɛlɔm	'I shell them' (tenseless)	(1)
ɔɪ do ʃɛlɔm	'I am shelling them'	
ɔɪ bin ʃɛlɔm	'I shelled them'	
ɔɪ bin ɔ ʃɛlɔm	'I have been shelling them'	
ɔɪ dɔn ʃɛlɔm	'I have shelled them'	
ɔɪ bindɔn ʃɛlɔm	'I had shelled them some time ago'	

193 The fact that Creole verb stems have not been replaced
177 by standard English inflections indicates that it is more natural to retain an invariant verb stem than to acquire a new rule for a different system of marking. Consequently,

193 the uninflected stem is not a stigmatized form as evidenced
197 by its ubiquitous appearance in the pre-mesolectal table (2.3). It seems under little if any social pressure within the Wadmalaw community to further conform to the English system of marking. But the more a speaker acquires Standard English verbs, the greater is the decline of the Creole pre-verbs /bɪn/, /bɪnə/, /dɔŋ/ and /də/. They have neither semantic cognates, syntactic functions nor graphemic shapes with parallels in the superstrate, which are reasons some of the preverbs become rare or non-existent as a speaker moves toward English.

193 Some Creole markers undergo replacement processes while others are exchanged or deleted in light of more prestigious English markings. Still others like the unmarked verb stem manage to survive.

Those verb stems that do survive well into the mesolect are usually synonymous semantically with English verb stems. But the range of function in creole languages is greater than in English, as exemplified in the following example. (The preverb /di/ is the semantic equivalent of /də/ in Gullah.)

i di waka	'he is walking'
sɔm waka man	'a wanderer'
i di laf	'he is laughing'
sɔm laf man	'a joker'
i di krai	'he is crying'
sɔm krai man	'a complainer' (Todd 1973:4)

193 English does utilize verbs as nominal modifiers such as *cry baby, go car* and *dance man*. However the creole does not have the treasury of synonyms that its parent languages possess. While *cry baby* is generally used in English to (195) refer to one who cries easily or constantly, *cry man* is often the only reference that the creole language has for a complainer, one who whines and one who cries easily or constantly.

The unmarked verb has a high frequency of occurrence in Tables 2.2 and 2.3. But, its appearance alone or in conjunction with certain preverbs is restricted. Non-stative verb stems do occur with /dɔ/, /bɪn/, /bɪnɔ/ and /dɔŋ/. However, /bɪn/ seems to occur most often with stative verbs indicating simple past. The preverb /dɔ/ does not appear in this corpus with stative verbs to produce a construction such as */i dɔ nɔ/ *'he is knowing'; or */i dɔ ʃan/ *'he is wanting'. The seeming selectivity of the preverbal markers helps to account for the fewer tokens of /dɔ/ and /bɪn/ as compared with the higher count of unmarked verbs.

Table 2.4 shows stem verb useage for basilectal speakers exceeding that of pre-mesolectal ones by a factor of approximately two. An explanation for this pattern is 193 that the pre-mesolectal speakers show a rise in the use of 179 verbs ending in *-ing* and in the use of English 'be' verbs while at the same time they show a considerable decline in

193 the use of the Creole continuative markers /bɪn/ and /dɔ/.
197 This movement indicates fluctuation in the direction of English.[3]

19 2.2. The *-ed* morpheme

The *-ed* morpheme does not occur as a past tense indicator in the corpus for this study. Simple past is marked by a verb immediately preceded by /bɪn/: /i bɪn lɪf/ 'He left.' Many English inflectional morphemes are acquired grammatical devices that are non-existent[3] in the basilect and extremely rare in the mesolect as exemplified by the data in this study.

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The English marker *-ed* occurred only once in the data, and this one occurrence was considered a hyper-correction. Hyper-correction as defined by Fasold (1973:195) comes about when speakers are in the process of learning forms from a different linguistic system, and have not mastered all the constraints on their use. Consequently, they often extend usage to contexts which are never used by native speakers of the language or dialect from which the forms originated. The hyper-correction appearing in the data is /ɔɪ gɔd oʊə dɛ/ 'I went over there' (6). The speaker's knowledge of the English system of marking verbs may be incomplete. He may not have internalized *went* as the past tense marker of *go*, an irregular verb. As charac-

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A 193 [121] related standard English, and a concomitant practice of ignoring any variants between these polar lects.' Certain similarities between Black dialect and Gullah, S [193] however, are apparent, as will be shown. Labov, Fasold, A [197] Shuy, and others who study Black dialect have also noted an absence of the English past tense indicator *-ed* in certain environments.

2.2.1. *-ed* in Black Dialect: Traditionalist View. The absence of *-ed* is grammatical in the creoles. Labov A [194] and his associates relate the infrequency of *-ed* in Black dialect to purely phonological processes. Though it is commensurate with Labov's purpose, he does not relate the infrequency of *-ed* to grammatical processes where Black dialect would be shown to operate under a system similar to the creoles. Labov (1972a) and others have undertaken studies to show that though *-ed* is deleted in Black dialect, its deletion is only a surface manifestation because *-ed* has the identical grammatical function of marking tense in deep structure as *-ed* of standard English. They show A [194] *-ed* is present in Black English grammar and deleted through a series of phonological processes. Labov believes that the *-ed* suffix is inserted as the past tense marker by a regular grammatical rule long before the *-ed* deletion rule begins to operate. The following rule is Labov's treatment of the deletion of *-ed* and the simplification

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193 (A) A few days ago, they walk(ed).
194 (B) Every day now, they walk.

The results were inconclusive. The consultants gave the 'correct' answer fifty percent of the time, which means that the *-ed* was NOT pronounced as often as it WAS pro-
A 193 nounced. Consequently, any variable deletion associated with *-ed* forms that the consultants had, failed to furnish meaningful signals for the consultants' system of tense marking. Dillard concluded that there are justifications for eliminating inflections from the grammar of Black English, at least in the sense of tense as it is used in standard English (Dillard 1972:52).

A S Both Stewart and Rickford have drawn parallels with
• 193 some mesolectal varieties of Gullah and Black dialect. These creolists believe that inland Black dialect is descended from Gullah and possibly other creoles. While it is possible for 'dialect mixture' rather than convergence to have occurred, Rickford (1974) argues this claim is easily refuted by evidence of forms found in mesolectal varieties of Gullah today:

Stressed *bin* as remote-phrase marker:
Gullah - *I bin had that.*
Black English - *I bin had that plant.* (Rickford 1974: 95)

If the creolists are right, the absence of *-ed* in the grammar of Gullah would account for the infrequent occurrence of the *-ed* past tense form in Black English. The fact that present-day Gullah speakers, basilectal and
S (197) mesolectal, have not acquired the English grammatical past

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AS 193 [177] tense marker adds more support to the hypothesis that the sporadic occurrence of *-ed* in Black dialect is a stage in language acquisition. The occurrence of the lone mesolectal speaker who said /ɔɪ god oʊə dɛ/ 'I went over there' is not dissimilar from the constructions occurring in the speech of some Black dialect speakers who say *I knowed that already*. Furthermore, many of the same social and geographical factors which nurtured the growth and development of Gullah on the islands also nurtured Black dialect on the mainland. But historically the islands were closed communities with little in migration. The speech patterns were therefore much more stable than those of other inland Black people who had more interaction with English-speaking Europeans. Today, linguists continue

AS 193 197 177 to classify the people who speak Gullah as different from those who speak Black dialect. While it is possible to separate Gullah from Black dialect linguistically, it is no longer as easily done socially. With improved transportation to and from the islands, many Gullah speakers interact daily with inland Black speakers through economic and social activities. It is through this interaction that some language changes are occurring in Gullah. It is very likely that certain features associated with Gullah are being reinforced in inland Black dialect speakers through this same process.

2.3. The -*s* morpheme

193 A final factor contributing to the high frequency of verb stems in the basilect and the pre-mesolect is absence of
193 194 suffixal -*s*. Suffixal -*s* is represented phonetically as [z], [ɨz] and [s]. The pronunciation variant is dependant on the phonological makeup of the final segment of words to which -*s* is added. When heard as [z] the -*s* follows non-strident voiced segments as in [filz] *feels*; when heard as [ɨz] the -*s* follows a strident consonant as in [mɛtʃɨz] *matches*; and when heard as [s], -*s* follows nonstrident voiceless segments as in [laits] *lights* (Wolfram 1969:134). In English the suffix -*s* is the grammatical marker of third person singular present indicative, the marker of possessive, and the marker of noun plurals.

193 Historically, Gullah has not been marked for subject-verb concord and there is insufficient synchronic data to suppose that it is marked for it now. Only two of the
(115) twenty-one consultants in the study show any traces of concord and these two examples are faulty. The other nineteen reveal no number concord at all. Though the data for this study reveal little linguistic activity in the -*s* suffix category, a review of the quantitative analysis undertaken on the -*s* in Black dialect and Guyanese creole, languages thought to be genetically

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S 193 related to Gullah, may project future changes for the -s suffix in Gullah.

A 193 The absence of subject-verb agreement, especially between third person singular subjects and present tense verbs in Black dialect has attracted the attention of many sociolinguists. Labov, for example, basing his investigation on quantitative data and structural clues concludes that the -s suffix is not an integral part of the grammar of the consultants involved in his New York study. He proposed that infrequent and unsystematic surface forms be considered importations from Standard A 193 English. Wolfram (1969) demonstrates the manifestations 177 of English importations showing in addition to the infrequent surfacing of the third person singular suffix, consultants participating in his Detroit study use -s to mark non-third person subjects as well. This kind of speech behavior is exemplified in the following example:

I goes to church[5]
You goes to church
He goes to church
(he go to church)
We goes to church
They goes to church (25)

A 193 Fasold (1972) reported slightly divergent findings 114 from his Washington D. C. study. Unlike Labov and Wolfram, Fasold concluded that the -s realization with subjects other than third person singular was much less frequent than its non-use with third person singular

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days and the many activities involved in a complete day's work:

/ɘɛn dɔg pɪk kɔ̃tn aɪ go·ɪ oβə dɛ/ (6)
'When I finished picking cotton, I went (past repetitative) over there.'

It is not possible to know the range of the speaker's competence. But, since the construction was produced by the same speaker who produced /aɪ go·d oβə dɛ/ 'I went over there', one can either dismiss it as 'systematic unaccountability', or generalize that (1) the speaker is in the process of learning English rules for marking tense and subject verb concord, but has not mastered the constraints on either rule; (2) the speaker has not learned the English constraints on irregular verbs; or (3) the -s is a reflection of a non-punctual past marker. Individual performances are often sporadic and seemingly unsystematic. But, the grammar of the group is consistent and clearly reflects a natural propensity to adhere to a creole unmarked verb structure rather than to undertake the tenuous process of acquiring new English rules for concord and postverbal marking.

2.4. /dɘ/

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This form is used by 67% of the total number of speakers interviewed. Table 2.4 shows that the form occurs seven times more frequently among basilectal than among

•193 mesolectal speakers. Turner (1949) observed /dɔ/ in Gullah functioning primarily as a verb of incomplete predication. Cunningham (1970:66) provides a syntactic description of /dɔ/ + VERB and /dɔ/ + VERB + *ing* performing as the present continuative aspect markers. They appear with both transitive and intransitive verbs in which case /dɔ/ always precedes and *-ing* always follows. The two aspect markers /dɔ/ and *-ing* do not co-occur.

Table 2.2 shows /dɔ/ exceedingly more frequent than all quantitative counts for the English verbs 'to be'. The category includes any form of the verb 'to be', but an important fact obscured by the tables is that the English cognate selected most often to replace a creole preverb is *was*. Other present tense forms such as *is*, *am*, and *are* make few, if any appearances. Those numbers which are starred indicate that at least one half, in some cases more, of the appearances of the 'be' verb chosen, occurred in conjunction with either the Creole preverbal markers /dɔŋ/, /dɔ/, /bɪn/ or /bɪnɔ/ as a form of self-correction (i.e. /ɒɪ wɔz oβɔ dɛh - ɒɪ bɪn oβɔ dɛ βɪd dɛm/ 'I was over there - I bin over there with them' (6)), or the form appeared in a construction other than standard English or 'basilectal Creole' (i.e. /ɒɪ wɔz kɔm ɔut ðɔ hɔz/ 'I had come out of the house.') It appears (177) that *was* is acquired from English, not only to mark simple past for *be* verbs, but as past marker in general, as in: /dio βɔz pɔnɪʃ ju di βie die fillɛk/ 'They punished you

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193 193 in the manner they saw fit' (2). Considering that the category is composed of English *be* verbs which were used in lieu of /bɪn/, /bɪnə/ and /də/ the number is quite low, especially when compared to the total number of occurrences of /də/, /bɪn/ and /bɪnə/ in Table 2.2. As expected, Table 2.3 shows a higher occurrence of *be* forms beyond the basilect than occurrences of /bɪn/, /bɪnə/ and /də/. Likewise, all the consultants in Table 2.3 showed some familiarity with English *be* verbs. As evidenced by their performance, five of the fourteen speakers in Table 2.2 show no familiarity with English *be* verbs at all. [115]

193 The preverb /də/ performs a number of functions in addition to marking present continuative. The high frequency of /də/ in Table 2.2 is related to this as well as other functions:

/də/ as present continuative aspect marker:

/ɑɔ^{ə}m ɹɛit ɡəndə dɹdɪ də stæn ɑp/ (3)
'See it right there daddy. Standing up.'

/i də ʃek tetə/ 'She is shaking potatoes.' (23)

/də mɔŋki də hol/ 'The monkey is holding on.' (5)

/də/ as past continuative aspect marker:

Cunningham notes that the past continuative is marked by /bɪn/ + ɛ + VERB and /bɪn/ + VERB + *ing:*

When you call me, I been ɛ cook my dinner.
'When you called me, I was cooking my dinner.'

I been driving one day 'I was driving one day'
(Cunningham 1970:67-8)

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193 She treats /də/ solely as a present continuative marker. In this study, /də/ does indeed have that function in addition to performing as an iterative past marker. The following constructions exemplify /də/ + VERB performing in this capacity:

/ðə ɸɑɪ də blez ɳdi tʃimi/ (10)
'The fire is/was blazing in the chimney'

/mi ɛn də dɔg də ɹɪŋ ɸə gɪt də mit ɸə it/ (8)
'He and the dog raced to get the meat to eat'

/di kɒtn də drɒp blɒsm/ (Turner 1949:213)
'The cotton was dropping its blossom'

/də/ as future marker:

The future is usually marked in Gullah by /gə/ + VERB, but depending on the speaker's frame of reference, context, and intonation, /də/ + VERB may also mark future:

/ɒɪ gə dək n tɹɔ mɔgɪ dɔg/ (5)
'I will duck and throw the monkey down'

/das də wɔn gə du də ɸɛk tuju/ 'That's the one that will do the effect to you' or 'That's the one that will harm you.' (3)

/i də ɸɪks ɸə ju tʰu/ (3)
'He will (stand in) wait for you too'

/i də gə/ 'he will go' (3)

Labov defines specific linguistic contexts which effect the variability of copula realization. It is an interesting fact that the preverb /də/, the locating verb /də/ (V_L) and the equating verb /də/ (V_{Eq}) (Cunningham 1970:40) appear in identical syntactic environments where the copula is deleted in Black dialect:

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Before Predicate Adjectives:

Gullah:	i do ske	(23)
Black Dialect:	*She scared*	(27)
Standard English:	*She's scared*	

Before Nominals: (V_L)

Gullah:	i do hom	(1)
Black Dialect:	*He home*	(27)
Standard English:	*He is home*	

After Existential Subjects:

Gullah:	di ɹienide kom	(1)
Black Dialect:	*It raining*	(27)
Standard English:	*It is raining*	

In addition to /do/ occurring in context where Black dialect speakers can delete the copula, it also occurs in Gullah in some constructions where the copula is obligatory in Black dialect:

Under Emphasis

/i "do dɛ/ 'It IS there' (11)

In embedded questions, after WH- attraction:

/ɛniβɛ ju "do indɛ ai gon ɸain ju/ (11)
'Anywhere you are in there I will find you.'

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Furthermore, it seems more than just coincidence that the copula forms *is* and *are* which appear infrequently in the corpus for this study also appear rather infrequently in the quantitative studies on Black dialect. The categorical contraction and zero realization of *are* and *is* in the grammar of some Black dialect speakers have caused some

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193 some persons to believe that these forms are not an integral part of these speakers' grammar. Wolfram reports that contraction plus zero realization is slightly higher for *are* than for *is*, but the difference is not nearly as great as that between the percentage of zero realization for the two forms. In most cases, the frequency of zero realization for *are* is twice as great as the frequency for *is*. He reports also that only one consultant had no *is* contraction. But, of the 24 working-class consultants that he interviewed, seven had a categorical absence of *are* contraction. Likewise, the zero realization of *are* for each social class was greater than the zero realization of *is* on the next lower social class level (Wolfram 1969:173).

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[193] On the basis of the correlations between the contraction and deletion of the copula in Black dialect and the realization of /dɔ/ in Gullah in identical contexts, and on the basis of the high percentage of zero realization of *is* and *are* for both Black dialect speakers and Gullah speakers, one has evidence for a different theoretical orientation for explaining the absence of the copula in Black dialect. If /dɔ/ is rejected as a speaker masters a greater portion of an abstract creole continuum, and the form is NOT replaced by *is* or *are*, then zero realization of the English copula in Black dialect may result
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193 from the loss of /dɔ/, a historical creole marker. In Gullah, the preverb /dɔ/ shows an accountable decline

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in frequency in Table 2.3 (Pre-mesolectal speakers) as compared to Table 2.2 (Basilectal speakers). Only two speakers in Table 2.3 show any use of /de/ at all, while all of them reveal some familiarity with English 'be' verbs. These speakers are more socially mobile than the speakers in Table 2.2. Thus, they have more outside motivational forces as well as more opportunities to interact with English speakers outside the community.

Whether I am correct or not, the loss of a historical marker which performs in Gullah many functions that the English copula performs would at least offer an alternative to Labov's contraction deletion theory. He sees zero realization of the English copula in Black dialect from the viewpoint of a grammar in which rules are ordered so that a deletion rule operates on a contracted form to delete the copula (Labov 1972a:114). The deletion of a historical creole marker seems a plausible and less complicated process of explaining the variability of the English copula in Black dialect than a speaker restructuring his grammar to learn an English rule for copula insertion only to learn two other rules to contract and delete it.

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2.5. /bɪn/

Past tense is marked in Gullah by the preverb /bɪn/, and 90% of the speakers in this corpus use it.

193 It precedes the verb or predicate adjective that it marks or it may perform alone as the main verb constituent. It can co-occur with the equating verb /ɪz/, or the locating verb /de/, but the forms do not generally occur together (Cunningham 1970:64). Creole /bɪn/ may be borrowed from English, but it should not be confused with the English past participle *been*. Other than vowel lengthening as in English /bi:n/, it is difficult to claim any phonological disparity between them, but semantic and syntactic differences between *been* and /bɪn/ are more clearly defined. English *been* has an invariant grammatical function, to perform primarily as a perfective and past participle of 'be' verbs. Other features associated with its use are (+ PERFECT), (± PASSIVE), (± STATIVE). In some cases it can act as the main verb in constructions such as *He has been here*. But *been* does not occur in standard English without the aid of an auxiliary verb.

193 194 **Unstressed /bɪn/.** When unstressed /bɪn/ signals a completed action in Gullah, the data in this study show this use of /bɪn/ is replaced by *was*. Several constructions show them both occurring in combination:

/ɒɪ wɒz oβə dɛʰ(correction) ɒɪ bɪn oβə dɛʰ/ (6)
'I was over there with them.'

/ɒɪ wɒz bɪn ɹɔŋ dɛʰ/ 'I was around there.' (8)

/dio wɒz pŏnɪʃ ju (correction) bɪn pŏnɪʃ ju di ʃio dio fi·l lɛɪk/
'They punished you in the manner they saw fit.' (2)

193 197 The foregoing sentences show one operation of language

•193 177 change as the Creole and the English replacement occur in conjunction. The self-correction may indicate that the Creole is the more natural choice. Seemingly insecure about which form to use, each of the three speakers corrected his speech in favor of the language that he knew best. The last sentence shows the English replacement was occurring in pre-verbal position with a stem verb, where the preverb /bɪn/ would normally occur. The past tense indicator *-ed* is omitted and tense is marked by *was* as it would have been marked with /bɪn/. The joint appearance of the English past tense form with a Creole form owes its existence to a convergence of Creole and English grammar which produced a sentence which is neither Creole nor English. Even more important, the examples offer linguists an opportunity to observe abstract conceptualization processes that a speaker undergoes to reconcile the conflict between competing rules involved in linguistic change.

19 Stressed /bɪn/. Neither Turner nor Cunningham acknowledge stressed /bɪn/ as a remote past marker in Gullah. Consultants 1, 2 and 3 produced examples of a stressed /bɪn/ which could not have been a variant form of the unstressed form because the sentences were uttered in a context which does not allow substitution by a simple past tense marker without alterning the meaning:

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A 193 194 'She is married now and has been married for an extended period of time' (Labov 1972a:54-5). Rickford also observes that /bɪn/, the remote past marker occurring in mesolectal varieties of Gullah, also appears in Black dialect:

S 193 A (193)

Gullah:	*I bin had that* 'I've had that for a long time'
Black dialect:	*I bin had that plant* 'I've had that plant for a long time' (Rickford 1974:95)

The data in this study does not support a chiefly mesolectal existence for stressed /bɪn/. The three consultants using the form most frequently also use forms more representative of basilectal Creole, but these speakers are unlikely candidates for social mobility or language change because of their age. This one social factor does not provide a clue concerning the variety of creole from which stressed /bɪn/ originated. Unstressed /bɪn/ continues to appear in Gullah as the primary past tense indicator. But, for some speakers /bɪn/ is in clear competition with English was which suggests some variable movement away from the Creole in the /bɪn/ category.

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2.6. /bɪnə/

The preverb /bɪnə/ is an aspect marker. It may signal past progressive, simple past, present perfect, or future perfect progressive. According to Cunningham (1970),

193 it may sometimes perform the functions of the past perfect progressive if the speaker focuses on the action before it was terminated, rather than the fact that it was terminated. Usually the speaker focuses on the latter, and the past perfect progressive is indicated by /dɔŋ/, the perfect marker.

The preverb appears to be a derivative of /bɪn/ + /dɔ/. A counterpart appears in Guyanese, Cameroon and other English creoles:

/dat woman bin di sel ndʒaŋgi/ 'That woman sold crayfish (as her job over a period of time)' (Todd 1974:6)

Constructions involving /bɪn/ + /dɔ/ occur infrequently in Gullah; more often one hears the contraction /bɪnɔ/.

194 However, /dɔ/ occurs with stressed /bɪn/ to indicate past progressive:

/ɔɪ bɪn dɔ go/ 'I have been going for some time now.' (1)

The progressive has two variants: /bɪn/ + /ɔ/ + VERB and /bɪn/ + VERB + *ing*. The *-ing* category in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 result primarily from the use of the /bɪn/ + VERB + *ing* form, though the /bɪnɔ/ + VERB form occurs most often:

/bɪnɔ/ + VERB

/ɔɪ bɪnɔ liɣ dɔŋ sɔm bɪn on mɔɪ hɔɪd/ (8)
'I was lying down and something was on my head.'

/ju dɔ βɛn bɪnɔ drɪŋk mɔɪ βɔrɔ ɔl dɔ tɔɪm/ (8)
'You are the one who has been drinking my water all this time.'

/bɪnɔ/ + VERB + *ing*

/i bɪn tɪŋk di lɔd βɛn i bɪnɔ goɪn bɔt i bɪn βɪd di hɛp ɔdi gud lɔd βɛn i bɪnɔ kɔmɪn bɔk/
'He was thanking the Lord when he was going but it was with the help of the good Lord when he was coming back.'

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●193 Of the twenty-one speakers consulted, 67% used /bɪnə/. As shown in Table 2.4, the form can be expected to occur five times more frequently among basilectal than among pre-mesolectal speakers. The decline in usage by the pre-mesolectal speakers may be caused by /bɪn/ being replaced by more English-like progressive markers (e.g. *been going* as opposed to /bɪn go/ or /bɪnə goin/. English replacements would account for /bɪn/ becoming rare as one moves beyond the basilect. Only two of the seven speakers considered to be pre-mesolectal in Table 2.3 use the form. These same speakers show a decline in frequency of useage of the Creole progressive aspect markers /bɪn/ + VERB and /bɪn/ + VERB + *ing*. The ratio of *-ing* useage among pre-mesolectal to basilectal speakers is about 2:1. The higher frequency of the pre-mesolectal speakers may be attributed to their having acquired from English many *-ing* morphenes as whole words in the form of participials and nominals.

/do stɑ·o lɪl dɹɪdlɪn ɹeɪn/ (2)
'It started to drizzle rain a little.'

/do 'ɸɛɹə do 'klo·zɪn ɪn/ (2)
'The weather was closing in.'

/do 'hɑɸɪe do wɑz gɪɹn/ (2)
'the heavier it was getting'

Participial and nominal *-ing* are 'special' items, - acquired through grammatical rules. They are probably first added as simple vocabulary items which do not impose on the Creole verbal structuring. Through continual use

•193 and interaction with other users of verbal *-ing*, the suffix spreads and eventually becomes a productive grammatical rule (see Bickerton 1976:73).

2.7. /dɔŋ/

The occurrence of this form is low in the data for pre-mesolectal and basilectal speakers, with only 43% of the total sample using it. The completive is marked in Gullah by /dɔŋ/. It may perform as an auxiliary, as a verb substitute and as an adverbial.[6] It may combine with the past tense indicator /bɪn/, which precedes it, and /de/ which follows it; or all three may combine as /bɪn/ + /dɔŋ/ + /de/ to refer to a remote perfected time.

/i bɪn dɔŋ de go/ 'He has been gone for a long, long time.' (2)

This construction is rare in Gullah, but it is used when the speaker is referring to a remote past. The verb /bɪn/ marks past time and can co-occur with /dɔŋ/ in some positions, but /dɔŋ/ is more emphatic.

/ɒɪ bɪn it/	'I ate'	(1)
/ɒɪ dɔŋ it/	'I ate already'	(1)
/ɒɪ dɔŋ go/	'I have gone already'	(1)
/ɒɪ bɪn go/	'I went'	(1)

000 Todd and Jones note the combining power of the completive /dɔŋ/ and the continuative /di/ in Cameroon and Krio, though both attest to the rare appearance of the three

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markers together:

Cameroon: /a bin dɔŋ di wɔk lɔik trí awa/
'I had been working for about three hours.' (Todd 1974:6)

Krio: /a bin don de rait/
'I had been writing.' (Jones 1971:87)

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Bickerton has not noted the three markers occurring together in Guyanese creole, but *done* can combine in Black dialect with *bin* to intensify an action, as in *I bin done done that* (27) 'I did that a very long time ago.'

Labov found that in Black dialect *done* had an 'intensive meaning' which has no equivalent in other dialects of American English, and that the formal properties of *done* are not equivalent to *have*. He suggests that in Black dialect, *done* has become an adverb functioning sometimes like *already* or *really* (Labov 1972a:56), e.g. *I done about forgot mosta those things*. The following constructions indicate that Black dialect's *done* closely parallels the adverbial properties of /dɔŋ/ in Gullah:

S [193]

/ju bi dɔŋ ske/ 'You are afraid already' (23)

/ɐi bɪɪŋɐm bɛk dɔŋ gɪ̈in/ 'I brought it back already ground' (6)

The incidence of /dɔŋ/ is low in the data perhaps because situations producing its appearance did not occur. It would be expected to occur in methodological descriptions involving a process or sequence, such as planting potatoes or grinding corn where the speaker uses /dɔŋ/ to signal the completion of a procedure. Labov's observation that *done* does appear in Black dialect in context unparalleled in dialects of American English has significant

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A 193 import for creole language studies. Even though *done* as it is sometimes used in Black dialect has no American English parallel, it does have a very similar one in S A 193 Gullah. From a transformational generative grammar point of view, this similarity shows that the grammar rule governing the appearance of *done* is motivated by a rather resitant Creole deep structure rule. This rule offers additional evidence that Black dialect is descendant from [A 197] a creole language, possibly Gullah, and that some creole forms manage to escape extinction longer than others.

2.8. /dɔz/

The occurrence of /dɔz/ in both the basilect and the pre-mesolect was rare with only three tokens from three different speakers in each group. But Rickford (1974) has studied this form extensively in Gullah and reports that it is a mesolectal feature which should provide new evidence on the origin of *be* in Black dialect. He relates its primary function as that of a habitual marker. He S 193 hypothesizes that *Blan*, a historical habitual aspect marker for Gullah, may have co-existed with /de/, the present-day habitual marker:

> Blan may have coexisted from the inception of SIC [Gullah] with da, the oldest habitual marker which can still be found in basilectal varieties today. In all probability this form, like its equivalent a in Guyana was originally ambiguous in function between continuative and habitual aspect. Later it was split:

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•193 *da* ~ *a* being retained for continuative aspect, and *doz* introduced to signal habitual aspect alone. (Rickford 1974: 102)

According to Rickford, invariant *be* is introduced in Gullah and becomes obligatory before VERB + *ing* to express habitual and continuative aspect at once (e.g. *He does be working*). Later, /dɔz/ is deleted and *be* is left to mark habitual aspect as it does in Black dialect. The data for my study seem to support a more mesolectal existence for the /dɔz/ form. The proportionate usage of /dɔz/ in the pre-mesolect is more than three times that of its occurrence in the basilect. When the form appears in the sampling, it appears in constructions very similar to those in Rickford's study, e.g. /ɒɪ dɔz bi tɒɪd/ 'I am tired (habitually)'.

2.9. Conclusions

[197] The analysis of preverbs is based on the assumption that there are levels of Creole spoken on the island ranging from present-day basiloct to pre-acrolectal Gullah. The conclusions emerging from an analysis of English verb markers and Creole preverb markers are:

(1) The data on suffixal *-s* clearly show that none of the consultants in this corpus have acquired conventional English rules for concord. The *-s* suffix *-s* absent, and

•193 its absence can not be accounted for by any appeals to grammatical or phonological deletion processes because there is no evidence that Gullah speakers, mesolectal or basilectal, ever had any production rule for its use, nor do they have any now.

(2) An investigation of the *-ed* morpheme shows it to be absent also. There is a category of past tense in the grammar of Gullah, but it is clearly not marked with *-ed* as it is in English. Again, only one *-ed* occurred in the data, and that one was assigned to performance error. It is clear from the data that when tense is indicated, it is marked in Gullah most frequently with preverbal /bɪn/.

(3) Cunningham (1970) makes no attempt to 'weed out' those constructions which are exclusively Creole. She observes *is* as the equating verb or the verb joining two nominals, or a nominal with a *for* phrase functioning as a possessive. The data for this study show /do/ as the primary equating verb, though consultant number 3 shows a fairly consistent frequency of /ɪz/ joining two nominals (e.g./dɑ̈s truɸ/ 'That is the truth'). However, there are (177) interferences from English in the *be* category. The main English *be* verb used in Gullah is /wɔz/. Other verbs like *is, am, are,* and *were,* rarely occur. Their positions are filled by /do/, marking present tense, and /bɪn/ and

193 /bɪnə/ marking past and progressive. This class of features is hard to analyze because the English verbs often occur along with the Creole preverbs.

(4) A quantitative decline is apparent in the absence of /də/ and /bɪnə/ as revealed by Table 2.3 (pre-mesolectal speakers). These variants are less resistant to change than /dəz/ and /bɪn/ which have phonological cognates in English but have quite different semantic and syntactic functions. The consultants in this sampling are not familiar with the English restrictions, as evidenced by their performance.

193 177 Finally, attention may be drawn to the fact that though all speakers selected used some Creole verbs: (1) there are no speakers in the sample whose total count of English *be* verbs exceed the count of Creole preverbs; (2) some speakers used no English *be* verbs at all; (3) no speaker in the sample could be classified, according to his features of speech, as a Black dialect speaker.

19 The conclusion made explicit by these generalizations is that all speakers in the sampling, basilectal and pre-mesolectal, are speakers of Creole in their choice of verbs. They differ only in the level of Creole spoken.

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121 The cycle suggests that syntactic and morphological
19 elaboration can serve at least three functions in a language: (1) maintaining an adequate level of redundancy to allow for communication under inadequate conditions (the theory of redundancy formulated by Martinet and others); (2) providing material for stylistic variations (hypothesized by Labov 1971); and (3) expressing the categories of natural syntax (the theory hypothesized by Traugott 1973) (Dreyfuss 1975).

The pronominal system of creole languages has been studied by a number of creolists. Their findings indicate that creoles are not complicated by redundancies and elaborate systems of gender and case marking often found in Indo-European languages. For example, Jamaican Creole has little or no case marking but maintains gender marking for animate and inanimate. Cameroons Creole and Melanesian Pidgin mark neither case nor gender. Sierra Leone Krio
121 marks case but not gender. Historically Gullah has been
• 193 marked for case but not gender (Nichols 1976:86-7). If present-day Gullah maintains a similar pronominal structure, one expects the categories of case and gender to be unspecified, and the nominative, objective, and possessive forms of third person singular pronouns to be essentially the same.

As a first test of this hypothesis, a survey was conducted of the use of third person singular pronouns throughout the Wadmalaw community. Third person singular

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•193 pronouns were tested because sex reference is generally marked in English by these forms.

The corpus included twenty speakers selected from the Island, ranging in age from ten to ninety-six years. A quantitative survey was taken of the pronominal distribution for each speaker.[7] Nine were selected on the basis of their willingness to participate in the study and on the range of pronouns used. These nine consultants are among the ones who assisted in the verb study as well.

Though the concern of this chapter is third person singular pronouns, Table 3.1 is presented to show the distribution for a range of pronominal possibilities in Gullah.

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(115) All of the following variants are used by the nine consultants, though all are seldom used by the same consultant:

GULLAH THIRD PERSON SINGULAR CASE PRONOUN VARIANTS

Nominative	*Variants*	
masculine	ɪm i hi	'he'
feminine	ɪm i hi ʃi	'she'
neuter	ɪm i ɪt	'it'
Objective		
masculine	ɔn i hɪm	'him'
feminine	ɔn i ʃi hɔɹ	'her'
neuter	ɔn i ɪt	'it'
Possessive		
masculine	ɪn i ɪz hɪz	'his'
feminine	ɪn i ʃi hɔɹ	'her'

Tables 3.2 and 3:3 show the distribution and percentage of occurrence of each variant. Nichols' study [128] on pronominal variation in Gullah, undertaken on a neigh-

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	FIRST PERSON		SECOND PERSON		THIRD PERSON	
	S	P	S	P	S	P
NOMINATIVE	ɔi / mi *(I / me)*	βi *(we)*	uno / ju *(you)*	jɔl *(y'all)* uno / ju *(you)*	M F N } i *(he)*	dɛm *(them)*
OBJECTIVE	mi *(me)*				M F N } im *(him)*	
POSSESSIVE	-uon *(own)* -sɛf *(self)*		ju / -uon *(you) (own)* / -sɛf *(self)*	-uon *(own)* -sɛf *(self)*	M F N } i-uon	dɛm *(them)* -uon *(own)* -sɛf *(own)*

The pronouns are described phonetically because Gullah speakers use forms which do not have English counterparts. Some forms were selected from among others because of their frequency of occurrence. For example, /una/ marking second person singular and plural has parallels in Igbo and Jamaican Creole (see Turner 1949 and Bailey 1966). /i/ and /im/ are general markers for third person nominative and objective cases. The practice of not distinguishing gender is paralleled in Igbo, Gã, and Yoruba (Turner 1949).

TABLE 3.1
PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN GULLAH

[128] boring island in Georgetown County, revealed similar results for third person pronouns, though I altered her phonetic symbols to conform with my system of marking:

Nominative

masculine	i	hi	ɪt
feminine	i	hi	hɛz ji
neuter	i	hi	ɪt

Objective

masculine	ɔm	ɪt	him
feminine	ɔm	ji	hɛz
neuter	ɔm	i	ɪt

Possessive

masculine	i	hi	him	hiz
feminine	i	hi	ji	hiz hɛz
neuter	i			

(Nichols 1976:84)

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PRONOUNS Person Gender Case	PERCENT USAGE OF FORMS								Total No. of Occurrence
	BASILECT		PREMESOLECT		MESOLECT		ACROLECT		
	form	%	form	%	form	%	form	%	
3 ♀ N	im	0	i	55.2	hi	16.4	ji	28.4	67
3 ♂ O	om	71.5	i	4.5	im	21.0	him	3.0	61
3 ♀ O	om	74.2	i	3.2	ji	12.9	hɔr	9.7	31
3 ♂ P	im	13.8	i	62.1	iz	20.7	hiz	3.4	29
3 ♀ P	im	0	i	83.8	ji	16.2	hɔr	0	6

TABLE 3.2. (THIRD PERSON) PRONOUNS WITH FOUR VARIANTS

3 ♂ N	im	3.6		i	77.6	hi	18.8	165
3 ♦ N	im	13.2		i	84.2	it	2.6	38
3 ♦ O	om	96.0		i	2.0	it	2.0	51

TABLE 3.3. (THIRD PERSON) PRONOUNS WITH THREE VARIANTS

♀ = Feminine
♂ = Masculine
♦ = Neuter
N = Nominative
O = Objective
P = Possessive

Two tables are required to show a systematic distribution of third person singular pronouns in Gullah. One table contains pronouns with four variants while a second table contains pronouns with three variants. On the surface, the system seems more elaborate and complicated than that of its English superstrate. But the variants represent levels of Creole speakers and possibly stages in the acquisition of standard English. For example, to produce a semantic equivalent of *her* in the sentence *I know her*, a speaker will select a pronoun from his repertoire of rules governing third person objective forms. The one that

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193 196 [197] is selected will depend on the speaker's knowledge of Gullah and standard English, as well as social factors such as audience, age and education. According to the data, there are four forms from which a speaker may select:

1) If the speaker is basilectal or wishes to appear as such, he will select /ɔm/ and produce /ɔɪ nuo ɔm/ 'I know her';

2) If the speaker has acquired a rule for the use of /i/, then he will say /ɔɪ nuo i/ 'I know her';

3) If the speaker has a grammatical rule for the use of a form distinguishing male from female, then he will probably say /ɔɪ nuo ʃi/ 'I know her';

4) Finally, if a speaker has acquired the acrolectal feminine, he will say /ɔɪ nuo hɔɪ/ 'I know her'.

193 Few speakers use all four variants, offering some credibility to DeCamp's theory that each creole speaker masters a span of a language acquisition continuum, and that no speaker masters both extremes unless he masters the intermediate varieties as well (DeCamp 1971).

But data in this study support the hypothesis that it is possible for a child growing up in a Creole-speaking community to learn to use the pronouns /ɔm/ and /hɔɪ/ (both polar forms) to mark third person feminine objective case without having acquired a rule for the use of /hi/ to mark feminine object.

The third person singular pronouns in Gullah are discussed according to case and frequency of occurrence. It will be shown that the status of a form may vary

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193 according to each category and stage of acquisition.

3.1. The Nominative Case Pronouns

The data revealed three variants marking the third person masculine nominative case: /ɪm/, /i/, and /hi/. 193 178 The appearance of three forms is one indication that the Creole is alive but in a state of flux and development. While neither of these charts represents any one speaker's acquisition of English pronouns, Table 3.4, showing individual variation, indicates that there are stages of language acquisition during which a speaker will produce some forms from the basilect, some from the mesolect, and others from the acrolect until the Creole form is eliminated from the lexicon.

193 The data in Tables 3.2 and 3.3 display the variability of current usage. They indicate that from a total quantitative count of 165 /i/ the unaspirated form of the third person masculine nominative pronoun is chosen 77.6% of the time. While /i/ co-varies with /ɪm/ and /hi/, both polar forms with fewer occurrences than /i/, the English form /hi/ occurs more frequently than /ɪm/. The English form has a frequency of occurrence of 18.8% while /ɪm/ has a frequency value of only 3.6%. This finding suggests that there is variation in the masculine nominative category. But /i/, the form making

193 the replacement, is not only Creole but the pronominal form which Gullah speakers use to mark this category MOST frequently. The fact that some speakers of Gullah 193 194 seldom articulate initial (h) is one reason that phonological change is slow to occur in this category.

Gullah: i tɔk dɪ ho ɛn lɪkɔm
'He took the hoe and hit him.' (23)

i bɔɔst kɹɔɪ
'He burst out crying.' (23)

i ɛ̃ nou ɛn i ɛ̃ kɛ
'He doesn't know and he doesn't care' (15)

193 Unlike the forms marking the masculine subjective case, there are four variants from which Gullah speakers may select markers for the third person feminine nominative case. These variants are /ɪm/, /i/, /hi/ and /ʃi/, all of which correspond to English *she*. The data reveal that /ɪm/ has been either eliminated from the lexicon of these consultants, or that they, for extralinguistic reasons, chose not to use it. Turner's (1949) study indicated that /ɪm/ was a possible pronoun item marking third person feminine nominative case, and Bailey (1966:22) reported that /im/ is the form used to mark the nominative case for all genders in Jamaican Creole. Consequently, /ɪm/ was included in this study as a check for linguistic change.

The most significant linguistic data that are revealed from the study of variants marking the feminine nominative case is that of the 67 times that the consultants selected a third person feminine nominative pronoun, /i/ was selected

• 193 37 times, /ʃi/ 19 times, and /hi/ 11 times. In total, the Creole form marks this category more than 71% of the time. Likewise, speakers whose performance revealed alternations between /i/ and /hi/ seldom used /ʃi/. [194] Furthermore, /hi/ occurred primarily in stressed positions as an appositive, often AFTER the gender of the person or persons had been specified. Consequently, there could not have been any confusion on the part of the linguist or on the part of the speaker as to whom the speaker referred to when the pronoun /hi/ was used.

mi mɔrə, hi βɔrn klɔtʃ
'My mother, she was in church.' (2)

βɛl, hi gɪt fɔm lɪrl ɸo diˢ ol mɛn
'Well, she got home a little before the old man.' (2)

The pronoun /i/ is not only the form used to mark masculine and feminine nominative slots, but is the form most frequently used to indicate third person nominative, neuter gender. The variants marking this position are /ɪm/, /i/, and /ɪt/. /i/ occurred as neuter marker 32 times, contrasted with the 5 occurrences of basilectal /ɪm/, and 1 occurrence of the pronoun /ɪt/. A greater number of speakers chose /ɪm/ rather than /ɪt/ to mark neuter subject.
In light of this data, one can assume that creole neuter subject pronouns are very resistant to change. Even existential is not marked by the English pronoun *it*. As first noted by Turner (1949), /do/ is the form used by Gullah speakers to mark existential where speakers of English use *it*:

193 /da/ as existential'

do ɹien i do kɔm	'It is raining' 'It was raining' 'It will rain' 'It rained'	(1)
do sto ɔno sɔndi-mɔgin	'It started on Sunday morning'	(2)
do liɛɹe do gim gigi	'The later it was getting, gal.'	(2)

/i/ as neuter it

i βɔzɔ saiklɔn	'It was a cyclone'	(2)
dɔs βt i ɪz	'That's what it is'	(8)
iɪ had no hɛid	'It didn't have any head.'	(8)

The frequency count of pronouns marking third person masculine, feminine and neuter nominative case revealed that /i/ marks all three genders, most of the time. In view of this, one can conclude that most of the time these consultants do not formally distinguish between masculine, feminine and neuter gender, which gives these forms for the nominative case, respectively: /i i i/.

19 3.2. The Possessive Pronouns

There are four variants from which Gullah speakers may select to mark third person masculine possessive pronouns: /ɪm/, /i/, /iz/, /hiz/. It is necessary to provide a separate category for /iz/ and /hiz/ because most consultants delete initial [h] when pronouncing English words like *heart, hear, his, her, home* and *hunt*. The unaspirated form /iz/ occurred six times more frequently than the

19
[115] in general by supplying extra linguistic data such as the demonstrative pronoun *that one* and the article *a*.
193 Cunningham (1970:22) writes that the definite article *the* may also mark possession, and it is not restricted to marking inalienable possession. Nichols (1976) excluded the possessive pronouns from her analysis because of the infrequency with which they occurred in her data. The following sentences exemplify one way that the consultants appear to avoid these forms:

(8)
so i kɪk ɔm wɔn, da ɸut ɸɪsɪn...
i tak' i ied, n bɑm, dɪ̃ βɔn ɸɪsɪn
so i dʒɪs arə tiəl nɔ

'So he kicked him one (and) his foot fastened.
He took his head and "bam"! His head fastened.
So he just had his tail (free) now.'

As with the nominative case pronouns, the same pattern emerges in the possessive case with /i/ as the general marker for both masculine and feminine pronouns: i i i / i i.

3.3. The Objective Forms

The third person singular objective pronouns show the least amount of change. The /ɔm/ form is dominant for masculine, feminine and neuter objects. It can be
[194] argued that /ɔm/ is an unaspirated, etymological allomorph of /hɪm/, just as /i/, /ɔz/, and /ɪz/ are unaspirated allomorphs of /hi/, /hɔz/ and /hɪz/. However, the data

•193 sample indicates that /ɔm/ is perhaps NOT related to /hɪm/ ip the superstrate. First, there is a definite phonetic pattern observed in the use of /ɔm/, /ɪm/, and /hɪm/. The mid central vowel /ə/ + /m/ is the general marker used for object position only. When reference is made to a pronoun approximating English *him* the high front vowel /ɪ/ is used, and it occurs only in subject position. [194] Furthermore, /ɪm/ occurs as the unaspirated allomorph of *him* in MASCULINE objective position only. Even then its frequency of occurrence is only 21% as compared to 71.5% occurrence of /ɔm/. Up to this point, the pattern that seems to be emerging is that the Gullah speaker acquires a form, generalizes and saturates each case with this form before going on to another selection, so that each form selected appears in each of the three cases. If /ɔm/ is etymologically connected with /ɪm/, one would perceive its existence in the feminine and neuter categories also. [197] It does not make an appearance, which suggests that by the time Gullah speakers acquire the English objective pronouns in the evolutionary process, they have already made the distinction between masculine, feminine and neuter case markers."

[194] The phonetic difference between /ɪm/ and /ɔm/ is slight, and thus would make /ɔm/ easily replaceable by /ɪm/, and ultimately replaced by the pre-aspirated [114] allomorph /hɪm/. The evidence indicates that /ɔm/ is still the only pronominal form marked for case, which is

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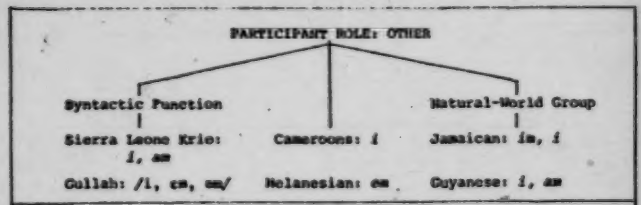
193 (114) supportative of Nichols' claim that the basic distinction between the forms of personal pronouns used in the creoles is related to participant roles within a given discourse whereby the third person category is used to designate persons or things other than the speaker or hearer. The basic distinction between the forms of personal pronouns in Gullah (/i, en/) and Krio (*i, am*) is in the syntactic function of object and non-object. The basic distinction between forms used in Jamaican (*im, i*) and Guyanese (*i, am*) seems to be between animate and inanimate natural-world classes. Cameroon (*i*) and Melanesian (*em*) simply use a one form classification 'other' to designate persons or things other than the speaker or hearer. She offers the following schema to show these groupings:



Third Person Singular Pronouns in Creoles and Pidgins (Nichols 1976:89)

Though it is not a universal that languages with a full range of functions must classify personal pronouns by both syntactic function and natural-world group, English

•193 does utilize both classifications. Nichols suggests that it may be a typological characteristic of pidgins and creoles that either one or the other feature be found, but not both.

The analysis of the objective case pronouns, however, is obscured by the appearance of /i/. That fact that /i/ appeared in even a small percentage (the masculine 4.5%, the feminine 3.2%, and the neuter 2.0%) indicates that the form is a segment of an historical change process. Diachronically, /ɪm/ has been the marker of the objective slot, occurring in no other case for this study, nor for the studies undertaken by Turner (1949), Cunningham (1970), or Nichols (1976). A pattern emerges which may explain the appearance of /i/ in the objective case: It is known that /i/ and /ɪm/ are variants for the nominative and possessive cases in Gullah. The data for this study, as well as the data for Nichols' study, show that of these variants /i/ now occurs most frequently. Investigations of Gullah and other Atlantic creoles show /ɪm/ to be the more basilectal form. In the change from /ɪm/ to /i/ in the nominative and possessive cases, a given speaker acquires the pronoun /i/ and uses it to mark all genders in the nominative case. Once he becomes comfortable using /i/ opposed to /ɪm/ to mark the nominative case, he will then begin to use /i/ to mark the possessive case. Consequently one hears both of the following in present-day varieties of Gullah:

i nuo i βiɛ hom
ɪm nuo ɪm βiɛ hom } 'He knows his way home.' (1)

193 Since Gullah speakers are generally accustomed to a genderless pronoun system, /i/ is perhaps substituted for /ɔn/ in the objective case by some speakers. But because Gullah is marked for objective case, one would not normally hear /ɔi nuo i/ 'I know it.' Sentences employing /i/ in objective position would be considered, in the words of Consultant 1, /ba· tɔk/ 'bad talk', or at best questionable. However, Gullah speakers do say:

ai no ʃi	'I know her'	(1)
ɪn it ʃi	'He hit her'	(1)

But they do not usually say:

*ai no i	to mean 'I know him, I know it'

Gullah speakers use the basilectal forms of the feminine objective pronouns with great frequency: for example, /ɔn/ comprises 74.2% of the total count, /i/ 3.2%, /ʃi/ 12.9%, and /hɔɪ/ 9.7%.

ɔi kɔl ɔn jiɛrə	'I call her Yatta.'	(2)
ɔi kiɛn tə də ɦɔspɪrl	'I carried her to the hospital.'	(3)
ɔi ɛ̃ ʃi ɔn	'I haven't seen her.'	(3)
kit i ɔn əβie	'Take it on away (from here).'	(2)

Change from the creole occurs the least in the neuter objective slot. For example, /ɔn/ was selected for this category 96% of the noted occurrences, leaving only 2.0% for /i/ and /ɪt/ respectively. The pronoun /ɪt/ does not normally appear in creole languages.

ai ʃi kurə ʃɔ ɔn plə·ɛn	'See, she could see it plain.'	(3)
ju ku ɸilɔn	'You could feel it.'	(3)

193 i it om 'He hit it' (2)

Variant forms and their frequency of occurrence offer a clue to the stages of pronominal acquisition in Gullah. Following the model that Bickerton outlined for Guyanese (128) Creole, I divided each stage of development into three groups consisting of forms representing, in each case,

1) masculine, feminine, and neuter subject /

2) masculine and feminine possessive /

3) masculine, feminine, neuter objects,

respectively. The data for third person singular pronouns suggest on the whole that the language is decreolizing but not as rapidly as some have predicted. There is a 193 progression from the system first noted by Turner (1949: 197 227):

im im im / im im / om om om

While each speaker displays variation in the choice of pronouns, a compilation of the MOST dominant forms reveals that the consultants in this study maintain a genderless pronominal system:

i i i / i i / on on on

A similar study of linguistic change in Gullah was undertaken recently quite independent of my own. The study reveals identical findings:

> On the basis of both distribution across categories and frequency of occurrence, the two basic creole forms for Gullah thi[illegible] person pronouns of singular number are here identified as oe for both nominative and possessive cases and om for objective case. (Nichols 1976:101)

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3.4. Stages in Language Acquisition

•193 197 A diachronic look at Gullah indicates that Turner (1949:227) cites the appearance of the creole pronoun /i/ in nominative position co-occurring with /ɪm/. The co-occurrence of these forms suggests that a rule conflict was in progress and /i/ would eventually replace /ɪm/ as the general marker of gender in nominative position. The pronoun /i/ is said to make the replacement because historically there are fewer occurrences of /ɪm/ as nominative marker in the basilect than there are occurrences of /i/, and because /ɪm/ has been recorded to mark or co-occur with /i/ in nominative position for all genders in Jamaican Creole (*im*)(Bailey 1966), and Guyanese Creole (*am*)(Bickerton 1975). The evidence indicates that unlike Bickerton's model for Guyanese Creole, the diachronic model for Gullah is more conservative in Stage I:

Stage I. i i i / i i / am am am
(Model for Guayanese Creole, Bickerton 1973)

Stage I for Gullah:

ɪm ɪm ɪm / ɪm ɪm / ɔm ɔm ɔm

The difference in the stage I pattern for Gullah and Guyanese Creole may be accounted for by different origins, different developmental stages, or different source languages. Both models are reminiscent of certain West African languages such as Yoruba, for example, which uses one form /ọ, ọ̀/ for 'he', 'she', and 'it' in subject

•193 position (Turner 1949:228). It is characteristic of
197 Atlantic creole languages to display a reduced distinction of third person singular pronouns.

Contact between language systems caused a change in the Stage I pattern, and Turner's data indicates that discrimination of gender occurred first in the neuter subject before taking place in the human subjects.

Stage II: im im i / im im / on on on

One theory that can be proposed is that neuter /i/ was linearly transferred intra-categorically to the masculine and feminine forms before making other changes in the objective categories. Stage III is essentially the same undifferentiated gender as Stage I:

Stage III: i i i / im im / on on on

I attribute this change to partial selection, where Gullah speakers approximated the contact language's pre-aspirated /(h)i/ and incorporated it intra-categorically into their genderless mold, to make minimal adjustments to accommodate the new form.

i n beno kom bak til die klin (3)
'She didn't come back until morning.'

Only in Stage IV does Gullah reveal a system identifiable with Bickerton's Stage I:

Stage IV: i i i / i i / on on on (Gullah)

As exemplified by the survey, the consultants involved in this study use the Stage IV system.

[194] /i/ marking feminine subject is being replaced by

193 some Gullah speakers who now add the palato-alveolar fricative /ʃi/ while /i/ as masculine and neuter marker is still used.

Stage V: i ʃi i / im im / om om om

000 At this stage in Guyanese Creole, Bickerton says that gender differentiation is interrupted as the change process recognizes the salience of /am/ in the object. He considers it salient because it is the only basilectal form in the system which is not perceived to be present in the acrolect. His claim seems inconsistent with the data for creoles. He argues that the principle of least effort ASSURES that replacement of a form will PRECEDE rather than ACCOMPANY a form differentiating gender; and that a form already in the system will constitute the replacement. He concludes that gender differentiation takes place next in the neuter subject:

Stage IV: i shi it / i i / i shi i
(Model for Guyanese Creole, Bickerton 1973)

This claim seems inconsistent with the data for some creole 193 languages. It does not parallel the developmental process for pronouns in Gullah because *it* as object pronoun seldom, if ever, occurs in the speech of the consultants in this study.

19 Stage VI: i ʃi i / im im / om ʃi om

Gender is distinguished in the object by the transference of the existing form /ʃi/ from the nominative to the object slot. Then, /om/ is replaced by /ʃi/, A FORM

000 easy relexification.

•193 197 In the last stages of decreolization, if one can assume that total decreolization will occur, a point on the continuum is reached where non-standard use of pronouns is more perceivable, and final replacement occurs:

Stage IX: i ʃi ɪt / ɪn ʃi / ɪn ʃi ɪt

Stage X: i ʃi ɪt / ɪn ʃi / ɪn hɛɹ ɪt

Stage IX is a pre-acrolectal or very advanced stage for Gullah. Few speakers of Gullah use standard English *her*. The final stage involving replacement of possessive items is omitted by Bickerton. I include this stage for Gullah because of its widespread occurrence. The masculine and feminine possessive are often marked in Gullah by the definite article *the* + *own* which may account for the infrequent use of pronouns to mark the possessive.

i kʌt de won hied	'He cut his own head'	(2)
ʃi kʊk de won fud	'She cooks her own food.'	(4)

This change is difficult to account for in the evolution of pronouns in Gullah. One would not expect it to occur as a pre-acrolectal stage because *the* is not present in the superstrate language indicating possession in any way, even allowing for phonetic alternations. I believe that this change was occurring with other basilectal changes before the introduction of *she* marking possessive when we get forms like:

ʃi du ʃi won hɛ	'She does her own hair.'	(9)
i kɔn ʃʌk im won baʔl	'He can suck his bottle.'	(1)

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193 This theory of possessive placement would then be in accord with Bickerton's concept that the completion of the possessive category is the final stage, with *her* occurring by transference to possessive position and finally *his* being the last form introduced to replace /ɪz/.

Stage XI: hi ʃi ɪt / ɪz ɑɪ / ən ɔr ɪt

Stage XII: hi ʃi ɪt / hɪz hɛr / hɪm hɛr ɪt

It is difficult to say exactly where the last four stages (IX, X, XI and XII) occur in relation to each other. The data have too few occurrences of *his* or *her* to really be able to point to a change sequence. However, it is apparent that pronominal forms show up very early in Guyanese Creole which are just beginning to appear in Gullah. Yet the Guyanese distribution seems less systematic, which is not to say that speakers are necessarily systematic in acquiring another language; but it appears that in the system that Bickerton proposes, the speakers zig-zag across categories in their acquisition of pronominal forms. The consultants in the pronominal study for Gullah seem to show SOME system. Correlation of the data shows that they acquire a form, and use this one form to saturate each case before selecting another form. Other forms are acquired simultaneously but not distributed until the process is well underway with the first selection. The stages are theoretical but do not necessarily represent an idealized model for linguistic change in Gullah. These stages can be shown on a grid developed from raw data.

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CONSULTANTS	PRONOUNS							
	3 ø O	3 ♀ O	3 ♂ O	3 ø N	3 ♂ P	3 ♂ N	3 ♀ P	3 ♀ N
2	1	1	(1) 2 3	2	2	(1) 2 3	2	(2) 3
8	(1) 2 3	1	(1) 2	2	-	(2) 3	-	(2) 3
5	1	1	(1) 2 3	1	(2) 3 4	1 2 3	2	-
23	1	(1) 2 3	(1) 4	2 3	(1) 2	(1) 2	2 3	(2) 4
3	1	(1) 3	1	2	-	(2) 3	-	(2) 3 4
10	1	1	1	-	2	2	-	2
6	1	(1) 4	(1) 3	2	2	2	-	(2) 3
24	1	1	1	2	1 (2) 3	2	-	(2) 3
4	1	1	1	1 2	1 2	1 (2) 3	-	(2) 4
KEY	1=əm	1=əm	1=əm	1=ɪm	1=ɪm	1=ɪm	1=ɪm	1=ɪm
	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i
	3=ɪt	3=ʃi	3=ɪm	3=ɪt	3=ɪz	3=hi	3=ʃi	3=hi
		4=həz	4=hɪm		4=hɪz		4=həz	4=ʃi

TABLE 3.4.
IMPLICATIONAL SCALE FOR THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS IN GULLAH

♂ = Masculine
♀ = Feminine
ø = Neuter
N = Nominative
O = Objective
P = Possessive

Circled numbers indicate the form used most frequently..

193 Bickerton's data and charts differ substantially from mine because his are based on groups of speakers, whereas I limited myself to showing pronoun distribution for nine

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193 individual consultants.

121 193 To devise an implicational scale, I designated numerical indices to pronominal forms and their alternates in sequential order away from the basilect. The basilect form is numbered one, its first replacement is numbered two, its second replacement three, etc. The highest number for any form represents the acrolect for that category. The presence of two or more numbers in a single cell represents the existence of a rule conflict. Circled numbers indicate the form used most frequently (Table 3.4).

193 Table 3.5 shows a number of pronoun variants used by each consultant. However, the degree of fluctuation between English and Creole reveals that the speakers' grammar is closer to Creole than it is to English. Some variants are clearly a reflection of English intrusions but a quantitative survey of the most frequently used forms show only slight movement from the creole pattern recorded by Turner in 1949.

Many of the cells are split, indicating rule conflicts in performance. The presence of six empty cells in the third person feminine possessive column again suggests that speakers avoid marking this position. When forced to select a feminine possessive pronoun, /i/ is the one chosen 86% of the time. Most often, speakers supply extra linguistic data or mark this slot with the definite article *the*, which is also done in Krio and Jamaican Creole:

Gullah: i kot de fut, mɔn 'She cut her foot, man', or 'He cut his foot, man' (1)

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CONSULTANTS	PRONOUNS								
	3 ϕ O	3 ♀ O	3 ♂ O	3 ϕ N	3 ♂ P	3 ♂ N	3 ♀ P	3 ♀ N	
	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	STANDARD BASILECT
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
4	1	1	1	1 2	1 2	1 2 3	-	2 4	GULLAH
5	1	1	1 2 3	1	2 3 4	1 2 3	2	-	
24	1	1	1	2	1 2 3	2	-	2 3	
23	1	1 2 3	1 4	2 3	1 2	1 2	2 3	2 4	
2	1	1	1 2 3	2	2	1 2 3	2	2 3	
10	1	1	1	-	2	2	-	2	
8	1 2 3	1	1 2	2	-	2 3	-	2 3	
6	1	1 4	1 3	2	2	2	-	2 3	
3	1	1 3	1	2	-	2 3	-	2 3 4	
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	STANDARD ENGLISH
	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	
	3	4	4	3	4	3	4	4	
KEY	1=əm	1=əm	1=əm	1=ɪm	1=ɪm	1=ɪm	1=ɪm	1=ɪm	
	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i	2=i	
	3=ɪt	3=ʃi	3=ɪm	3=ɪt	3=ɪz	3=hi	3=ʃi	3=hi	
		4=hoz	4=hɪm		4=hɪz		4=hoz	4=ʃi	

♂ = Masculine
♀ = Feminine
ϕ = Neuter

N = Nominative
O = Objective
P = Possessive

A standard basilect and Standard English are included to show the approximate distance from which Gullah has progressed and the distance it has yet to go in terms of rules to reach Standard English.

TABLE 3.5. IMPLICATIONAL SCALE FOR THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS

193 Unlike the feminine, there are high numbers in the cells for the column marked THIRD PERSON MASCULINE POSSESSIVE. One speaker shows usage of /i/, /ɪz/ and /hɪz/, though most speakers have marked this category with /i/. It is significant that speakers 8 and 3 leave both masculine and feminine possessive case unmarked. It is significant because it adds more credibility to possessive cases being unmarked by pronouns in the basilect.

[197] The pronominal system shows the least amount of change in the masculine, feminine and neuter objective case. All the consultants continue to use /əm/ regardless of gender on sex-reference. It is my belief that the objective slot is the only one still marked for case.

193 197 The greatest degree of change has occurred in the nominative case. Five of the nine consultants have acquired a rule for aspirating /i/ to produce English *he*, but the rule is not stable. Of the 165 times that the masculine subject appears in the data, 78% were marked with /i/ and only 19% were marked with aspiration (/hi/). The fluctuation and variability between /i/ and /hi/ where there has been no variation historically is indicative of linguistic change within a creole configuration. Turner

193 194 197 records /hɪm/ 'him' as the only pronominal form appearing with aspiration in Gullah. Five of the consultants in this study are moving toward aspiration of other forms, particularly /hi/. The change, however, is only a phonological manifestation of an underlying Creole grammar

193 194 197 rule because /hi/ is a form used to refer to both male and female in Gullah.

The /h/ is not entirely lacking in Gullah. Turner offers a list of personal names and words with initial /h/ derived from source languages such as Vai, Mende, Twi, Fon, Wolof and others (Turner 1949:93-94). The appearance of /h/ at least in some consultants' speech indicates that it was phonemic historically in West African words but it is now deleted initially in the pronunciation of English words. The appearance or non-appearance (197) of /h/ in present-day Gullah may result from (1) a convergence and vocabulary borrowing from English, (2) a slow spread of /h/ from West African source languages to English words, or (3) the loss of initial /h/ with the subsequent loss of West African words and its reacquisition with English replacements.

193 197 There is no apparent change at all in neuter subject. The pronoun *it* is yet to be acquired in the pronominal system of these consultants. However, change is activated in the third person feminine subjective case. Three of (197) the speakers are acquiring the English palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] to mark feminine gender, /ʃi/, while none of the speakers use /ɪm/, a more basilectal form, to mark this position. Though these three speakers use *she*, they use /i/ and /hi/ to mark feminine as well. Eight out of nine marked nominative third person feminine with /i/, while five out of nine marked feminine with /hi/.

193. The evidence indicates that MOST OFTEN these consultants do not formally specify gender in their pronominal system:

i i i / i i / ɔn ɔn ɔn

These forms are very unlike the English superstrate's pronominal forms. However, in structure it shows a resemblance to the unspecified case and gender of the pronominal system of ONE of its African substrates. Compare third person singular pronouns in Igbo, for example:

yɔ; yɔ; yɔ; / yɔ; yɔ; / yɔ; yɔ; yɔ;

(Model for Igbo, Turner 1949:227)

Unlike Igbo, however, the objective case is marked in Gullah by a different pronoun. Commensurate with the speakers of some other pidgin and creole languages, most of the consultants in this study do not formally mark pronouns for case; nor do they make a formal distinction between masculine, feminine and neuter gender, which is a system diametrically opposed to English.

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194 /z/ The voiced alveolar fricative is a reflex of English /z/: [hɔz] 'house', [ɸziz] 'freeze'.

4.3. The Texts

128 539 The following texts are included in this study primarily to show the language in context. The selections offer a range of speech styles and topics which manifest many phonological, syntactical, and morphological constructions characteristic of Creole languages. The English version accompanying each transcription obscures many of the Creole patterns. Consequently, an attempt is made to present a word-for-word translation which corresponds with each line of phonetic script. This procedure is more [193] amenable for illustrating underlying Creole constituents such as the complementizer /fɐ/, the introductory verb /siɐ/, the future marker /gɔ/ and many constructions other than those specified in this study.

[194] The selected passages reveal specific segmental phonological phenomena such as vowel epenthesis, consonant reduction, assimilation, and various phones corresponding to, or substituted for English phones such as /ɸ/ and /w/; /ɸ/ and /f/; /t/ for initial /ð/ and /ɐ/; and /ɐ/ and /f/ for /ɐ/. No effort has been made to eliminate false starts, [126] deviant words, or stuttering. Occasionally, it has been extremely difficult to hear certain sequences because of

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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NOTES

121 197 198 1. A PIDGIN is a marginal language which arises to fulfill certain restricted communicational needs among people who have no common language. It is sharply reduced in structure and vocabulary as contrasted with the languages from which it is derived (Todd 1974a:1 and Hall 1966). Theoretically, the lingo which developed as a result of the heterogeneous grouping of West African languages and English was a pidgin language: a language which was the mother tongue of neither African nor European, reduced in structure and vocabulary and adequate only for minimal discourse between speakers. When this language became the mother tongue of children born into this language environment, its lexicon and grammatical machinery expanded until it was ample linguistically for effective cultural transmission, productivity and communication. Consequently, the pidgin became a CREOLE. In the case of Gullah, elements derived from different African languages caused different creole varieties and as a result, Gullah still varies linguistically from island to island.

121 193 2. No consensus has been reached on what features the terms BASILECT, MESOLECT, and ACROLECT describe. On a gradum ranging from 1 to 10 (with basilect being represented by 1 and acrolect represented by 10), Stewart 1965

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regarded BASILECT as that speech variety which is farthest from standard (#10, the acrolect). MESOLECT has been used to refer to that variety falling approximately midway (#5). All intermediate varieties may be recognized by the prefixes *pre-* or *post-*. These terms, however, should be understood to represent gradations of a speech continuum with one grade merging into the other in a manner similar to a color spectrum. They are not to be regarded as separate entities (see Bailey 1974, DeCamp 1968, Bickerton 1975). Cunningham (1970:67) says the past progressive results from a combination of *been* + *da* → /bɪnə/. It is written /bɪnə/ in this study. The slash marks (/ /) are used to represent broad phonetic rather than strictly phonemic transcription.

3. The *-ing* morphemes appear in the basilect, but generally in relation to /bɪn/ + VERB + *ing* as the progressive aspect marker.

4. For opposing arguments see Krapp (1924), McDavid and McDavid (1951). For arguments for a creole origin see Stewart (1967), Dillard (1972), Rickford (1974), and Bickerton (1970).

5. Black dialect consultants 25, 26 and 27 assure me that the *-s* suffix is used consistently to mark all persons and numbers by some speakers.

6. For more detailed discussion, see Cunningham 1970.

193 7. Some consultants who aided in the pronoun survey
115 participated in a very informal 'story-telling' contest
124 for which a prize was awarded to the one who told the most interesting tale. The stories were recorded and a frequency count was taken of third person singular pronouns as they occurred.

193 8. I consider /ɔn/ the most basilectal form for Gullah because, of the variants filling third person feminine objective slot, /ɔn/ is least like the form used in the acrolect. The /i/ form appeared in the objective slot infrequently, but it is not regarded as a performance error because it occurs in this position in Guyanese and Jamaican Creoles. It may be a stage in pronominal acquisition, but it may not be a stage that all speakers go through. *She* is considered mesolectal because it would seem to indicate that a speaker has acquired one acrolectal form to distinguish male from female.

193 9. Different intonation patterns were observed with
194 each tense. Unfortunately, I was not able to capture this
[126] on tape. The consultant assured me that all of the contexts were possible.

19 10. There were only six tokens of /i/ counted in this category. The form [hiɔrɸ] 'himself' occurs in the data to mark third person feminine possessive as well as third person masculine possessive. It was not included with the other forms because I perceived it to be used by

19 speakers other than those consulted for the pronominal count. Similarly, *he own* and *she own* are often heard and were recorded by Turner (1949) and Cunningham (1970).

193 128 11. The neuter possessive pronouns are excluded from this analysis because they occurred too infrequently in the data. Nichols (1976) also notes the infrequency with which they appeared in her study.

19 12. Hancock's word list supplies most of the means for comparison of words in the Atlantic creoles unless specified otherwise. (Hancock 1970:7-72).

194 13. The selection of a rounded or unrounded variant of /o/ has not yet been associated with factors of style, sex, age or other variables.

539 776 775 14. *Bag* has an unusual meaning for the Islanders. It can mean a person, man or woman, dead or alive. For this narrative, it is used to refer to a haunted house—a house inhabited by spirits or one living person with unusual powers.

115 193 539 15. This consultant's speech exemplifies the system of rule changes discussed earlier. He consistently uses the English past tense marker along with the Creole - *was bin*. The fact that *was* is FOLLOWED by *bin* is an indication that the Creole form is the self-correction and that the speaker relies more heavily on the Creole form to make himself understood.

000 himself understood.

539 (538) 16. The speaker repeats words and whole phrases for narrative effect.

17. *The Tar Baby* was told to the speaker in the manner in which he retold it, and he does not know why the tar baby is called *Brother Ligal*. In fact, he seemed surprised that I asked, though no version that I had heard before mentioned the tar baby by name.

[538] [193] 18. The narrator consistently used *that one* to refer to the rabbit's limbs and head. He apparently repeats the phrase to avoid using the pronoun *it*, which is not yet an established vocabulary item in Gullah.

[538] [171] 19. *The Buzzard and the Monkey* is in the genre of the Ananse and other animal tales told on the Sea Islands and throughout the Caribbean. The monkey personifies the Black man who is THOUGHT to be naïf and unsophisticated by the socially mischievous Buzzard. The Buzzard is the trickster and personifies anyone who must be taught a lesson on Black ingenuity.

538 193 20. Gullah contains few consonant clusters, and speakers maintain the CVCV pattern by epenthesis or by-deleting consonants; this pattern also occurs in Jamaican Creole:

538 1. *snake* [sinick] ∅ → v / c __ c
•193 2. *program* [pogɛm] r → ∅ / c __
[pogam] neutralization

21. The verb *say* is formulaic and appears after communicative verbs to introduce objective clauses or direct quotations. This practice is paralleled in Twi, [197] Ewe, Mende and Igbo (Turner 1949:211). Similar constructions occur in Jamaican Creole, Tamil, Bengal, and Marathi.

22. /nɔ/ is a negative resulting from the assimilation of /nɔ/ and /dɔ/, a form of the verb 'to be'. Before negative transformation, the sentence would read /ɪm dɔ lɔɪ/ 'he is lying.' After negative placement and assimilation, the sentence reads /ɪm nɔ lɔɪ/ 'he is not lying.'

23. /uno/ is a pronoun form marking second person in Gullah. It has an identical parallel in Igbo U,NU; (Turner 1949:227).

539 775 775 24. This speaker is deeply religious. The tripartite division of body, soul and spirit is unparalleled in European religions. I was informed by an Igbo consultant that this concept is widespread in West Africa. According to this Gullah speaker, the spirit remains on earth with the body after death, but the soul progresses home to the kingdom of God. Depending on the deceased person's life-
539 774 style, the earthly spirit may be good or evil. In life, the spirit leaves the body periodically to roam and wander

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THE DIALECT

[197] What the Gullahs seem to have done was to take a sizeable part of the English vocabulary as spoken on the coast by the white inhabitants from about 1700 on, wrap their tongues around it, and reproduce it changed in tonality, pronunciation, cadence, and grammar to suit their native phonetic tendencies, and their existing needs of expression and communication. The result has been called by one writer "the worst English in the world". It would certainly seem to have a fair claim to that distinction. To understand it requires a trained ear, and at first blush it is equally unintelligible to white people and colored people alike.

[194] [193] "The ordinary reader," says Mr. Bennett, "may not always catch the meaning; the shapes of the words are strange; they are the residuum of language literally worn away by use; the phonology is archaic; the engaged grammar a mystery; to the wit and to the acute phonetic sense of the reader much must inevitably be left.""

It is easy to understand the bewilderment of a northern visitor to the South just after the war who fell in with a crowd of Negro refugees on the wharves in Charleston. "I tried to converse with others," he writes, "who spoke a wild jargon peculiar to the plantations, of which I understood hardly one word in ten."" White housekeepers in Georgetown, Charleston, and Beaufort have been heard at the present day to lament the fact that they could not understand their own cooks, which is but one way of confessing that they are not native, but have moved in from the up-country.

One of the funniest things I ever saw was a fashionable colored nurse-maid from the up-country listening for the first time to a Gullah cook and a Gullah fisherman on Pawley's Island arguing over the price of a string of fish. As the flood of Gullah vocables burst around her ears the up-country negro's expression was a study in mingled amazement and incredulity: she couldn't believe her own ears!

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[193] "I, 377.

"J. T. Trowbridge, *The South*, L. Stebbins, Hartford, Conn., 1866, p. 538.

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Short Cuts

•193 The simple form *run*, for example, does duty for "run, runs, is or are running, has or have run, ran, etc.", singular and plural of all tenses. *'Ee* serves interchangeably for "he, she or it"; *'e dead; 'e hab chile* (of a mother); *'e cry; 'e kick* (of a mule); *'e freeze; 'e hot; 'e rain; 'e gwine wedduh* (of an approaching storm). Similarly *'um* stands for all objective case forms of the third person pronoun: *'e tief 'um* (steals or stole it or them); *'e lick 'um* (of wife, child, or mule); *'e bu'n 'um; uh done 'um; uh shoot 'um.*

Distinctions of gender,[24] even in the pronoun, are likewise lacking. As Harris succinctly remarks: "It (Gullah) recognizes no gender, and scorns the use of the plural number except accidentally."[25] For example, a country darkey boarding the train near Georgetown handed the conductor two tickets, and was asked whom they were for. *"Dis one fuh him"* (pointing to his wife), *"and dis one fuh we,"* pointing to himself. A visitor to the office of a masculine attorney who had stepped out for a moment was told by the Georgetown darkey office boy: "She is out; 'e yent come back, not yit; him soon will."[26]

'Ee see 'um or the syncopated form *'Ee shum* may have any of the twenty-four possibilities

He She It	sees saw	her him it them

Depending upon its inflection and accent, *shum* by itself

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[24] Compare Mrs. Parsons' statement: "There is, too, the same confusion of gender and of number, based, I surmise, upon indifference in Africa to these linguistic distinctions. The persistence of the indifference in Negro dialects, in English, French, and Portuguese, is an interesting fact in the psychology of language." *Folk Lore of the Sea Islands*, Preface, XX.

[25] *Nights With Uncle Remus*, Intro., XXXIII.

[26] Mr. Bennett is likewise authority for the following uniquely practical explanation of sex and gender: "An old Negro was asked about the difference between the masculine and feminine genders and replied: 'O, yes; me yis know dat. W'en 'omans eat mahry (married) 'e a male; w'en 'e mahry 'im bun uh female."

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193 may mean "See it, him, them?" The height of laconicism is achieved in

"Shum?"
"Shum!"

Uh yeddy 'um but 'uh ent shum may have any of the sixty-four possible combinations:

$$\text{I} \begin{Bmatrix}\text{hear}\\\text{heard}\end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix}\text{it}\\\text{her}\\\text{him}\\\text{them}\end{Bmatrix} \text{ but I } \begin{Bmatrix}\text{didn't}\\\text{don't}\end{Bmatrix} \text{ see } \begin{Bmatrix}\text{it}\\\text{her}\\\text{him}\\\text{them}\end{Bmatrix}$$

One of the most convenient and expressive words in Gullah is the interrogative or affirmative exclamation *enty*, equivalent to the German *Nichtwahr* or the French *N'est-ce pas?* It means "isn't, aren't, didn't, doesn't, don't, you, she, it, they, we," etc., etc. *Enty you shum?* or *You shum, enty?*

Gullah "A"

194 To unaccustomed ears, the most characteristic and peculiar sound in Gullah is the prevalence of the narrow or flat sound of *a* as in "at" "hat" "bat", drawled or prolonged to *"aa"*. This sound on Gullah tongue represents both the median and broad *a* sounds, and gives *paa't* for both path or part; *smaa't* for smart; *cyaa't* for cart; *haa't* for heart; and similarly *shaa'p, baa'n, maa'k, staa't, daa'k, yaa'd*, etc. As Mr. Bennett remarks: "To hear a small black girl, striving after the higher education but forever indelibly saturated with Gullah, recite the inspired line, 'Hark! hark! the lark!' as 'Haa'k! haa'k! de laa'k!' is inevitably to smile.""

Conversely the narrow or flat sound of *a* as in "fat", "hat," "rat," etc., is broadened to *o* or *ah*," giving *ha(h)t* for hat, *ca(h)t* for cat, *ba(h)g* for bag, and *ba(h)k, cra(h)k, fa(h)c'* and *ma(h)n* for back, crack, fact, and man. By this reversal of *a* sounds, curious results follow.

"Bennett II, 42.
"Not exclusively Gullah, but also impeccable white low-country usage.

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Thus, a "smart man" becomes a *smaa't ma(h)n*, and a "dark bag" becomes a *daa'k ba(h)g*. 194

Consonant Shifts

193. 194

Voiced *th* (as in *then*) > *d*

Aldo', anudduh, dat, den, dey dey (right there), bodduh, todduh (t'other), demself.

Voiceless *th* (as in *thin*) >t, either initial or final.

T'ick, t'in, t'ing, t'ink, t'ief, t'irty, t'istle, t'irteen, t'row, t'roat, t'ree, t'rough.

Eart' (or yut'), bre't', fait', trut', teet', lat' (lathe), pat', wut (worth).

r > *b*

Bittle (victuals), beabuh, bee-hibe, Benus (sometimes Wenus), behabe, berry (sometimes werry) 'ceebin (deceiving), grabe, hebby, driber, drobe, Ebe, ebenin', fabuh, leabe, lib', libe, febuh, fibe, fiabuh, glub, moobe.

v > *w*

Wenus (sometimes Benus), werry (sometimes berry), Nowembuh, puhwidin', puhwiduh, puhwishun, puhwoke, puhwokin', waa'mint (varmint), wegetubble, westibule (of vestibule limited train), wictoria, wine, wineguh, wisit.

z > *dj*

Medjuh, pledjuh, pledjuhr'um (pleasure him or them), tredjuh, tredjuruh.

R, of course, drops[a] or softens to *h*, except intervocalically as in *tredjuruh*, and *fuhr'um*, for *fuh um* (for them).

Final *d* or *t* is dropped or slurred:[a] Bandon' (abandoned), Babtis', buss', fiel'-han'.

An initial *u* is added before *u* (with a vanishing *y* sound), as in Newinted States, Nyankee, nyung, nyounges', nyuse, nyuzen' (usen't).

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[a]As always in the best company, R's are seen and not heard.
[a]Likewise in general usage.

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193 194 Preceded by a vowel an initial *y* sound is added to *i* and *e*. Thus *iz* and *ent* become *yiz* and *yent*. *Him is*, but *'e yiz; him ent*, but *'e yent; 'e yeye red.*,

Initial *s* is dropped in the hard consonant combinations *sc, sp, sk, st.*

'Cratch, 'crape, 'kin, 'corch, 'tan, 'tink, 'take, 'tir, 'top, 'ting, 'tep, 'ticky, 'traight, 'tring, 'tretch-out, 'tir, 'pin, 'pat, 'pit, 'plash, 'pend, 'tore.

Prefixes

193 Most one-syllable prefixes are dropped, as *at-, o-, ap-, e-, re-, op-, ad-, ex-, dis-, as-, con-*, etc.

'Ten, 'tenshun (for attend or intend, attention, intention), 'pinion (opinion), 'pint, 'pintment (appoint, appointment), 'pistle (epistle), 'jeck' (reject, object), 'tack, 'tag-uhnize (antagonize), 'mirashun (admiration), 'scusshun (excursion), 'spishun, 'spize, 'splain, 'špon', 'spose (suppose, expose), 'spute, 'stonish, 'stead'ub (instead of), 'stracted, 'struckshun (construction, destruction).

The prefix *re-* is the favorite, being sometimes retained when the others are dropped, and frequently being substituted for other less euphonious prefixes:

Recishun (for decision); refen' (defend), remonia (pneumonia), renite (unite), repeah (appear), repose (oppose), resplain (explain), refen ('fen', defend). "Anoint" becomes *'nint*, but the pastor is the *Lord's renointed.*

Survivals (Archaisms)

192 *Fo'punce* and *seb'npunce chickens*, to indicate the size of a chicken sold for those amounts before the Revolutionary War.

Coz, cuz, or *cuzn* as a form of address, like the Elizabethan "coz".

Jook in the sense of jab or jabbed.

Tittie or *tittuh* for sister.

Toad for a young female dog.

Tosty, as a diminutive of "toad," as a humorous nickname for man or woman.

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the use of archaic words and pronunciations; (3) the use of corrupt forms of English. There is, of course, more than this to the dialect, but these are really its distinguishing features as one gets them from the printed page. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the dialect is the way it is spoken. Its rapid succession of sounds with their sudden and extensive changes in pitch is something which has to be heard to be understood.

A careful study of Gullah reveals that there is law and order in the seeming chaos of this dialect. There is no better way to gain an understanding of the nature and development of Gullah than to take up in some detail its phonology and grammar. As the analysis proceeds it will become more and more apparent that practically every detail of the Gullah grammar and phonology is directly descended from the midland and southern English dialects.

PHONOLOGY[15]

Vowels

(*a*, *ea*, as in *art*, *heart*)

Words having *ar* or *al* plus a consonant, as in *art*, *cart*, *heart*, *calm*, are pronounced by most Gullah speakers as if the vowel were that found in *fat*, *that*, *hat*. This vowel is prolonged slightly, so that *heart* becomes *haat*, *lark* be-

[15] In tracing the relation between the Gullah phonology and the seventeenth-century English dialect phonology, there is of course some difficulty in obtaining accurate accounts of the latter. In most of the English dialect areas, however, there has been no great change in the phonological traits, so that eighteenth and nineteenth century records are accurate enough in general for the purposes of this analysis. Various dictionaries, grammars, and dialect glossaries have been consulted, also the works of men like Halliwell, Skeat, Sweet, the Wrights, etc. The monumental works, *The English Dialect Grammar* and *The English Dialect Dictionary*, both edited by Joseph Wright, draw upon all sources, and I have relied upon them for much of my comparative data.

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Thus *medguh*, *pledguh*, *treadguh*, etc., pronunciations which are not uncommon among illiterate white people. 194

Loss of Syllables

As Professor Smith says, "Most one-syllable prefixes are dropped as *at-*, *o-*, *ap-*, *re-*, *op-*, *ad-*, *ex-*, *dis-*, *as-*, *con-*, etc." Thus *'ten'* (attend, intend), *'pinion* (opinion), *'spose* (suppose, expose), *'spise* (despise), *'stonish* (astonish), and so on through dozens of words. In addition, medial syllables are often lost, as in *diffunce* (difference), *eb'ry* (every), *gen'ly* (generally), etc.[87] Now it is easy to assume that the Negro dropped such syllables because of some natural tendency toward economy of vocalization, but it is doubtful whether this is the true explanation. According to Wright, such pronunciations as *'bout* (about), *'quaint* (acquaint), *'gree* (agree), *'low* (allow), *'cause* (because), *'sturb* (disturb), *'lev'n*, *'leb'm* (eleven), *'cept* (except), *'casion* (occasion), *'tice* (entice), *comp'ny* (company), *diff'ent* (different), *gen'ral* (general), etc., were very frequent in the English dialects.[88] The Negro probably omits little that was not omitted in the patterns set by his English associates in the early days in the South Carolina low-country. 194 193

Combinations

The phonology of the dialect is further affected by the combinational process, by which the Negro utters several words as a single vocable, thus making it inevitable 194

[87] There are of course many vocalic *m's* and *n's*, as in *bott'm* (bottom), *heav'n* (heaven), *bac'n* (bacon), *happ'n* (happen), etc., but these are so common among white people that I do not mention them as Gullah characteristics.

[88] Wright, *E. D. G.*, pp. 204-5. Such pronunciations as *monstur* (monstrous), *sartenly* (certainly), *sum'dy* (somebody) etc., will be found in specimens of English dialect in the works of Halliwell, Wright, Barnes, Skeat, and others.

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as the following will be heard occasionally: *adswocate* (advocate), *bactize* (baptize), *bidout* (without), *cumposhashum* (conversation), *dimmycrack* (Democrat), *disgustuss* (disgusting), *fench* (fence), *muskick* (musket) *ruggidge* (rugged), *shoesh* (shoes), *stustifficate* (certificate), etc. Some pronunciations of this kind are descended from English dialect, some represent the minimum of accuracy which it was necessary for the Negro to achieve in order to make himself understood, and others are individual idiosyncrasies of the sort that are likely to appear in dialect anywhere.

GULLAH GRAMMAR

The Gullah grammar is merely simplified English grammar. Distinctions of person, number, gender, case, and tense have all been reduced to the minimum. Some of the features of Gullah grammar were copied directly from English dialect, and the rest seems easily explained on the basis of the simplified or "baby talk" type of speech used by the whites in teaching the raw slaves to understand English. The significant points of the Gullah grammar may be summarized briefly as follows. Only those particulars in which the dialect deviates from the standard language will be mentioned.

Nouns

As a rule the singular of a noun does duty for the plural. "Duh roostuh crow" may mean one rooster or ten roosters or any number of roosters. A sack of potatoes weighs fifty *pound*, a year has twelve *mont'*. However, *mens* is used for the plural of man, crabs are *crabbies*, while the ox is *oxin* and more than one is *two ox, t'ree*

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ox, etc. Sometimes a plural creeps in unexpectedly, as in a "five-dolluhs" hat, a "two-bits" collar, etc.[70]

The sign of the genitive is nearly always omitted. Thus "'e fadduh house" means "his (or her) father's house;" "dem brudduh wife" is "their brother's wife;" "Buh Wolf pig" is "Buh Wolf's pig," etc.[71] The thing possessed is sometimes widely separated from the possessor. "Is that your goat?" I asked a man. "No suh, dat de man what lib obuh dere een dat nex' house goat."[72]

Judging from the pronouns used, most inanimate objects are personified[73] and are masculine, being referred to as *he*.

Adjectives and Adverbs

Most adjectives are the same as in the standard language. Occasionally an ending is corrupted, as *brinly* (brindled), *speckly* (speckled), *cackly* (cackling), etc.

A few irregular forms, such as *worser*, *worsest*, *more better*, *morest*, *more longer*, and the like, occur in the comparison of adjectives.[74]

Pronouns

The nominative and objective forms of the personal pronouns are often reversed. "Him sent dis to we," "me said to he," "him an' me went," "dem got a long way to go to ketch up wid he," etc. *Um* is a sort of catch-all,

[70] For double plurals and use of singular for plural in English dialects, see Wright, *E. D. G.*, pp. 263-64.

[71] *Cf.* English dialect: "The Queen Cousin," "My father boots," etc., Wright, *E. D. G.*, p. 265. A Lancashire magistrate is said to have asked a witness, "Was it your brother dog?" Wright, *Rustic Speech*, p. 144.

[72] This form, with the genitival *s*, of course, is still common in this country. *Cf.*, also English dialect, "I've just seen Tim Dutton him as went to America's wife," etc. Wright, *E. D. G.*, p. 265.

[73] Same widely true in English dialects. *Cf. E. D. G.*, p. 265.

[74] *Cf. E. D. G.*, pp. 267-69.

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serving for *her, it, him, them,* except in emphatic positions. Thus, "'e got 'um" may mean that he, she, or it got or gets it, him, her or them. This confusion of pronouns is not a Negro invention, nor does it reflect an inability on his part to master English pronouns. He simply copied the pattern which was set for him.[75]

You, singular and plural, is nearly always *oona, woona,* or *yoona:* "oona gwine?" "oona help we," "I tell oona duh trut'," etc. The origin of *oona* is not clear. There seems to be no record of any such pronunciation of *you* in English dialect. It may be of African origin.[76]

The masculine pronouns are used almost exclusively. "'E go wid 'e 'usban'" means "she goes (is going, went) with her husband." "My wife, 'e yent feel so well," "My daughtuh, 'e los' 'e (or him) pig," etc. If the feminine is used, it is usually in the wrong place, as when a Negro refers to his nephew, his ox, or his bull as *she.* This confusion of genders had its basis in the peasant English speech. *He* was widely used in England for inanimate objects and feminine animals.[77] It used to be a common saying that in Hampshire "everything is called *he* except a tom-cat which is called *she.*"[78]

[75] *Cf. E. D. G.,* pp. 270-73. "In all the dialects of Scotland and England the objective form of the personal pronoun is used for the nominative. . . . In all the dialects of the south-midland, eastern, southern, and south-western counties the nominative of the personal pronoun is used as the emphatic form of the objective case." Thus, "it was her that did it," "him and me did it," "Jack and us went together." See also Halliwell's *Historical Sketch of the Provincial Dialects of England* for numerous examples. In Worcestershire, for example, "they said, "her's going for a walk with she." The unstressed form of *him* was *un* or *'im,* of *her, eh* or *uh,* of *them, um* or *'em,* in many of the dialects.

[76] See below, under African words.

[77] *E. D. G.,* p. 272. In Thomas Wright's *Dict. of Obsolete and Provincial English,* the meanings *they* and *she* are listed under *he.*

[78] Halliwell, *Prov. Dial.,* p. 43.

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•193 It will have been noticed already that the possessive pronouns are not common in Gullah. "His boat" is represented by "'e boat" or "him boat." "Our house" is "we house" or "us house." Disjunctively we have *him-own, we-own, you-own, dem-own,* etc. This way of expressing the possessive by means of the nominative or objective personal pronouns was widespread in the English dialects.[79]

The usual forms of the reflexive pronouns are *'ese'f, deyse'f* (sometimes *demse'f*), *myse'f* and *wese'f*. These correspond to the reflexives used in many of the midland and southern counties in England.[80]

The demonstratives besides *dis, dat,* and *dese,* are *disyuh*[81] (this here), *da' deh*[82] (that there), *dese* (these), *dese yuh*[83] (these here), *dem* (them, used for those), *dem deh*[84] (them there). *Those* is never heard among the dialect speakers. As in the English dialects, *that* is used adverbially with the meaning *to such an extent,*[85] as "'e dat 'fraid him oxin gwine die, 'e sell 'um cheap."

Wuh (what, that) is the relative pronoun most used. *Who,* as a relative, is seldom used, *whom* is never used. *Which* is sometimes heard, but is usually in a clumsy construction, as "de nine kitten, which all dem eye ent open yet."

[79] *E. D. G.*, p. 274. [80] *E. D. G.*, p. 276.
[81] "*This here* . . . general in England." *E. D. G.*, p. 277.
[82] "*That there*, general in England; a second *there* is often added." *E. D. G.*, p. 277.
[83] *These here*, common in Midland and Southern England. *E. D. G.*, p. 279.
[84] "*Those* is seldom or never heard in genuine dialect speech. Its place is supplied by: (1) *Them* . . . (2) *Them there*." *E. D. G.*, p. 279.
[85] *Cf. E. D. G.*, p. 278.

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Verbs

Verbal endings are cut to the minimum in Gullah. With scarcely any exception one form of a verb serves for all tenses. "'E run" means that he, she, or it *ran, has run, runs, is running,* and sometimes *will run.* The last, however, would as a rule be expressed by "'e gwine run." An air of finality is lent by "'e done run,"[86] and sometimes the present action of running is "'e duh run" (he does run). 1930

When compound forms for the past are used, the verb stem remains the same, but it is preceded by *uh,* a survival from English dialects still commonly heard among white Americans. Thus the Negro would say, "if I had *uh hit* um," "'e been *uh laugh* at me," etc.[87]

There are a few remnants of the old *th* ending in the third person singular, as in "w'en de win' blowet' " (blow-eth), owing their perpetuation largely to Biblical usage. *Fuh* (for) is sometimes used as the sign of the infinitive: "'E haffuh hab wife fuh cook fuhr'um, enty?"[88]

Adjectives and nouns are freely converted into verbs. "'E want a mortgage on sometin' what won't *dead.*" "De young gal *pledjuh* (pleasure) heself," "Look out! De plank gwine uh *broke.*" Him gwine uh *foolish* aroun'." "Me *happy* mese'f wid um." This trait survives in Eng-

[86] An old man to whom ideas of time were vague was trying to tell how long his daughter had been away from St. Helena: "Oh, 'e *been been* gone."

[87] These simplified verb forms were due in part to the fact that the white settlers simplified their speech as much as possible in dealing with the slaves. Some of these characteristics, however, were regularly found in English dialects. See *E. D. G.,* pp. 281-98. For example, the endings *s* and *es* in the third person singular were often omitted in the south midland, eastern, and southern dialects. The use of the form with *do (he does love* for *he loves)* was common in the southwestern dialects.

[88] *Cf. E. D. G.,* p. 298.

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193 land, and it has been observed especially among the whites of our Appalachians and Ozarks.

There are two or three unusual verb forms used in the dialect. *Hear* is *yerry* or *yeddy*. *See*, plus its object, has become *shum*, meaning see (sees, saw), it, him, her, them, etc. The former is probably derived with little change from the English dialect pronunciation of *hear, heard*, as *year, yeard*.[89] Likewise *see*, being nearly always followed by its object, which was usually *um*, was transformed in the rapid Gullah speech to *shum*.

Several English dialect forms like *pit* (put) and *remoan* (remove) survive in the Gullah, besides a number of archaic meanings of certain verbs.[90]

Conjunctions

In addition to the standard uses, the following peculiarities occur. *Than* is often expressed by *nuh* (nor), as it was, in fact still is, in England. Thus "Tek care mo' bettuh nuh be sorry" (to take care is better than to be sorry). *And* is also sometimes *nuh*, as in "you nuh me" (you and I).

Numerals, Etc.

802 *Twice, second, third*, etc., are rarely heard among the older dialect speakers, who prefer *two, two-time*, etc. "De t'ree (third) Sunday in November," "Now, in de two place" (second place), "Uh tol' 'um two-time" (twice), "Muh wife 'e been sick now strike de two mont'." *Both* is always *all-two*.[91] "Buh Rabbit en Buh Wolf all-

[89] Some verbs had an *i* or *y* ending in England, e. g., *look* was sometimes *looky*, a form surviving in America.

[90] See the list of archaic and provincial usages given below.

[91] A rare English usage, heard nowhere in this country now except in the Gullah dialect. Compare French, *tous les deux*.

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two went fuh t'ief a cow," "Buh Lion nyam (ate) um 802
'all-two," etc. When referring to a particular month, the speaker says "de June mont'," "de Augus' mont'," etc.

Miscellaneous

There are many additional points which might be 193
mentioned, but most of them are not particularly significant. However, there is one other feature of the grammar which is interesting and is characteristic of Gullah, namely, the interrogative *enty*. *Ain't* is usually *ent* in the dialect, and it is used just as white people use it. But the Negro has generalized *ain't it, ain't he*, etc., and has made *enty*, which he uses exactly like the French *n'est-ce-pas* and the German *nichtwahr*. Thus "'e gwine rain, enty?" "Oonah come tomorrow, enty?" "Dem was good apples, enty?" etc. The source of *enty* was the *ent, int, yent, yunt*, etc., which the English dialect speakers used for *isn't*. Since this word when used interrogatively was followed more frequently by *'e* (he) or *it* than any other words, the Negro really did not have to do much to the English dialect usage to achieve *enty*.[92]

VOCABULARY

Analysis of Gonzales' Glossary

It may seem that the English dialect paternity of 177
Gullah has been unduly emphasized, but such is not the 19
case. Indeed, it probably played an even larger part in the development of Gullah than has been indicated in this brief sketch.

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[92] See *E. D. G.*, pp. 244, 273.